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The Eternal City

ROME

ITS RELIGIONS, MONUMENTS, LITERATURE AND ART

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. I.

BY

CLARA ERSKINE CLEMENT

AUTHOR OF "LEGENDARY AND MYTHOLOGICAL ART," "PAINTERS SCULPTORS, ARCHITECTS, ENGRAVERS, AND THEIR WORKS" "THE QUEEN OF THE ADRIATIC," "NAPLES, THE CITY OF PARTHENOPE," "CONSTANTINOPLE THE CITY OF THE SULTANS," ETC.

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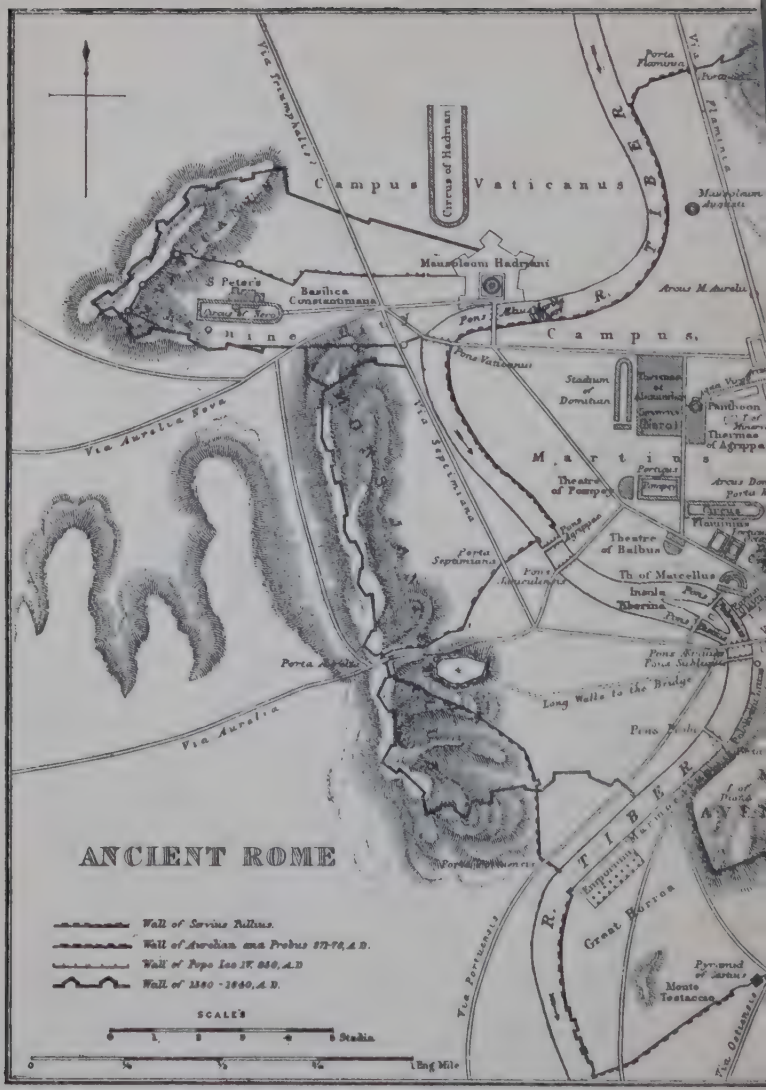
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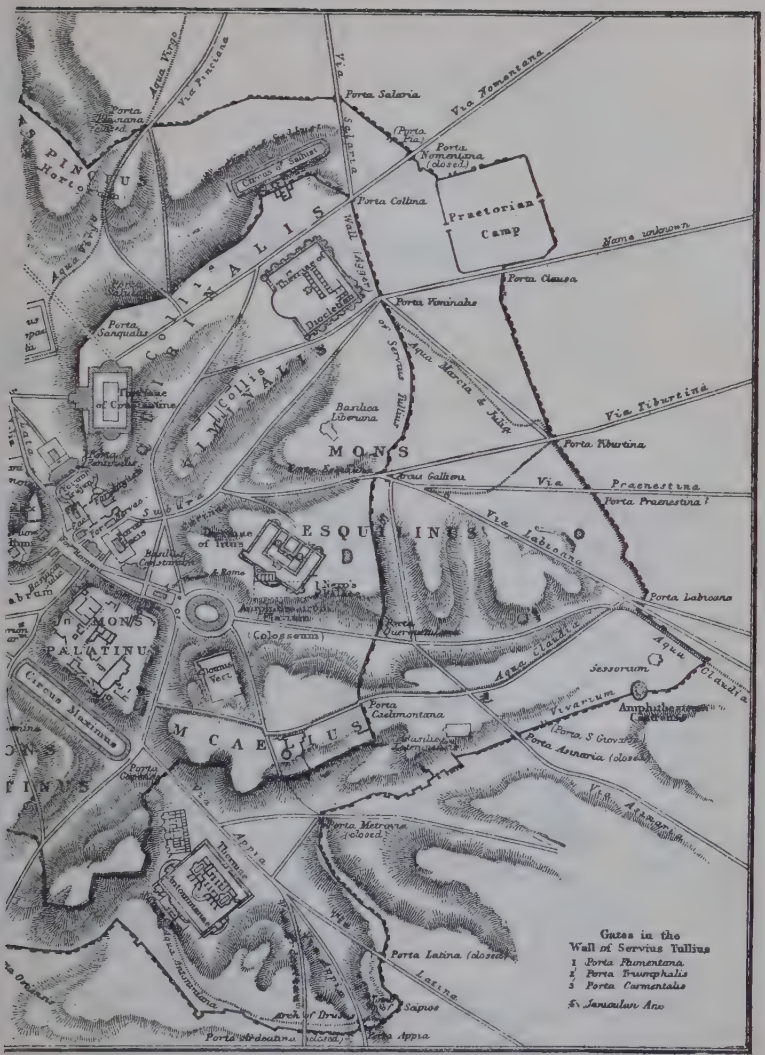
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ROME:

ITS RELIGIONS, MONUMENTS, LITERATURE, AND ART.

CHAPTER I.

THE PAGAN RELIGION.

IN studying the history of a people, nothing can be more interesting than its religion, and nothing more vital to the comprehension of the character of a nation than a knowledge of its initial system of faith and worship.

A VESTAL.

To the ancient Italians life was religion. Their gods were legions; each town, each family, each individual paid honour to a chosen deity and propitiated still other supernatural beings who were believed to protect life, health, and property. Every day, every hour, every act of life, in truth, was associated with thoughts of gods, of Lares and Penates, and of special divinities whose office was to prosper or hinder all the plans of men.

Recent excavations and researches have disclosed much that is most interesting and instructive concerning the religion of ancient Rome and its observances, and our previous knowledge and theories have been confirmed and corrected by what may fitly be termed "the light of other days."

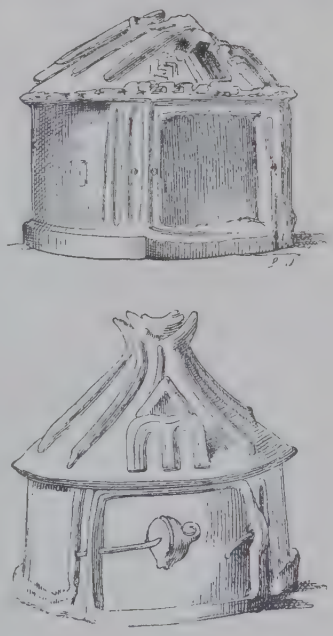
For example, the complete unearthing of the House of the Vestals in 1883, together with the revelations of both older and more recent excavations, enable us to speak with absolute certainty of the locality of the convent and temple of this most interesting sisterhood and of many matters connected with their life and offices.

Walking over the Via Sacra, as we reach the *Atrium Vestæ*, — House of the Vestals, — we can imagine one of the magnificent triumphal processions passing through the Forum Romanum, on its way to the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus;* we note the reverent glances of the conqueror and his followers as they near the home of the six white-robed virgins to whose care were intrusted the most sacred possessions of ancient Rome, whose honourable place in the procession — as in that of May, 17 B. C. — makes them the followers of the priests and the leaders of the aristocratic young matrons of Rome.

We reconstruct, in fancy, their graceful porticoes, and in them see these flowers of patrician rank, in all the brilliancy of youthful beauty and strength, or in the noble dignity of the portrait statue of the *Vestalis Maxima* — Abbess of the Vestals — now in the Museum of the Baths of Diocletian; and we are grateful that in the midst of Pagan Rome we find such purity, and so complete a dedication of life to religious and patriotic service.

The origin of the Vestal Virgins is easily traced to the ancient custom, in every village, of committing the care of the public fire to young girls who had not the strength to aid in the hunting, the fishing, and the agricultural pursuits of their fathers and brothers. As the ancient Italians asso-

ciated every act of life with some one of the innumerable deities of their worship. Vesta was naturally chosen as the guardian goddess of the fire-preserving maidens, and when the Alban shepherds descended to the banks of the Tiber, the hut of the Vestals was established on the borders of the market-place, known to us as the Forum Romanum; thus the worship of Vesta was the very beginning of the religion of ancient Rome, and the Vestals its first priestesses.



HUT-URNS.

The first temple of this worship was but a thatched hut, many models of which may be seen in the hut-urns discovered eighty years ago in the cemetery of Alba Longa, and now seen in the Vatican and other museums. Here the four Vestals, who, according to tradition, were transferred from their native hills by Numa, were required to keep the flame alive; and if by any carelessness it was extinguished, the unfaithful Vestal was scourged, as Livy tells us actually happened in 206 B. C.

On the first of March, the ancient Roman New Year's Day, the sacred fire was solemnly extinguished and relighted by the *Pontifex Maximus*, — the High-priest and Paternal Guardian of the Vestals, — who employed the prehistoric

REMAINS OF THE HOUSE OF THE VESTALS AT ROME. (EXCAVATIONS OF 1883.)

fire-drill, or the flint and steel, to start the new flame, — a custom like that in the *Prytaneum* in Greece at the same period, and which still exists in the kindling of the Easter Fire in the Roman Catholic Church.

The original temple of the Vestals is said to have been built by Numa, thirty-seven years after the founding of Rome, and was destroyed in the Gaulish fire, 390 B. C., on which occasion the Vestals buried the sacred treasures which were in their keeping in the Forum, and themselves escaped to Cære. A half-century later the new temple was burned, when the Pontifex Maximus, Lucius Metellus, lost his eyesight in saving the *Palladium*. Twice again was this temple a prey to the flames, and was restored by Vespasian, and lastly by Julia Domna, after the fire in the reign of Commodus, 191 A. D. To this edifice the existing marbles belong.

PONTIFEX VEILED AND LAUREL-CROWNED.

It was a beautiful temple, and when first discovered, toward the close of the fifteenth century, was well preserved. It was again excavated in 1549, and found to be completely ruined, it having been levelled with the ground. Happily thirty-six architectural fragments, which were found in 1883, have enabled archæologists to construct a model of the temple in perfect accordance with these fragments and with the foundations which still remain.

It was a great honour to a child to be chosen as a Vestal. In order to fulfil the conditions, she must be between the ages of six and ten years, and absolutely perfect in body and speech; even a slight lisp prevented her being considered as a candidate. She must be the daughter of free

parents, both of whom were living, and of irreproachable character; so rigid was this last demand that a girl of exalted family was deemed unacceptable to the goddess because her parents were known to have had a misunderstanding. Originally the number of the Vestals was four, and as their largest number was but six, it is plain that to be one of a sisterhood so small and yet so influential was a much-coveted privilege.

But three causes created a vacancy, — the death of a nun, or her voluntary retirement after thirty years of service, or the breaking of the vows, which last was punished by burial alive, starvation, or strangulation, and was happily of rare occurrence.

The child elected to fill a vacancy was taken to the House of the Vestals, where her hair was cut off and hung as an offering upon a tree, — the *Lotus capillata*, which was more than five hundred years old when Pliny wrote his natural history in the middle of the first century of our era. This sacrifice being made, the little girl was clothed in white, and took an oath to fulfil her sacred duties. For a time her own name was not used, but she was called *Amata*, the beloved, to emphasise her privilege and happiness in being made a Vestal Virgin.

The full service of the order occupied thirty years, of which the first ten were a novitiate, in which the novice was instructed by the senior Vestals, and initiated into the mysteries of her vocation. During the second decade she practised the more active duties of the sisterhood, and in the last ten years instructed the novices. This service ended, she could legally re-enter the world, marry, and lead her own life.

Very few, however, desired to leave the convent, as the dignities and prerogatives of the Vestals far exceeded those of the most honourable matrons of Rome. They were wealthy from the revenues of the order alone, besides which they

received fortunes from their families, and even, in some cases, from the Emperor. Tiberius gave one Vestal more than eighty-seven thousand dollars when she was elected, and to the disappointed candidate whose parents had not lived harmoniously, he gave more than four hundred thousand dollars.

The Vestals were free from the common law, although they were compelled to appear as witnesses in state trials; but they were under no parental authority, and a sister could make her will while her father still lived.

One of their most valued privileges was that of driving in the streets of Rome, while other ladies were conveyed in sedan-chairs. The Vestals owned their stables and horses, which were free from enforced service to the State, — an exemption conferred on the horses of the imperial family, of officers and priests of high rank, of diplomatic "couriers," and of the Vestals alone. These horses wore bronze tablets, some of which have been found; the inscription on one of them may be translated thus: "[This horse belongs to] Calpurnia Prætextata, Abbess of the Vestals. [This horse is] exempt from compulsory drafting." The Vestals had two carriages, — one, a heavy and imposing state carriage, the other, a lighter vehicle for daily use. When driving they were preceded by a lictor, and even the consuls were obliged to make way for them.

Suetonius relates the following circumstance as an illustration of the important and influential position of this sisterhood. Appius Claudius Pulcher was overcome by a desire to make a triumphal progress, and his request having been denied by the authorities, rather than submit to the decree, he persuaded his daughter, who was a Vestal, to mount the triumphal chariot with him, and, thus protected, he drove to the Capitol unmolested.

At public exhibitions in the circus, theatre, or amphitheatre, the most honourable seats were assigned to the Ves-

VESTAL.

tals; they were excluded from the athletic contests alone, lest the sight of the forms of the nude athletes should disturb their mental purity and serenity. It is related that Nero, in his office of Emperor and High-priest, invited the Vestals to

attend these forbidden exhibitions; we are not told whether his invitation was accepted or not, but it is well known that during the reign of Nero, and thirty years or more after his death, the conduct of the Vestals was more susceptible of criticism than before or after this period. By a decree of the Senate, in 24 A. D., the Empress, when in public places, was obliged to sit with the white-robed virgins.

One of the most remarkable tributes to their importance, and to the reverence in which they were held, was the fact that if a condemned criminal, on his way to execution, met a Vestal, he was at once given his freedom; their highest distinction, however, was undoubtedly their privilege of being buried within the city. But a single tombstone of a Vestal has come to light among the many thousands of ancient inscriptions that have been found; even this one was not in its original position, and the burial-place of the order is still unknown. Commendatore Lanciani exclaims, "What a magnificent event would be the discovery of such a place!"

The moral requirements of the Vestals were few and simple. They must live in perfect purity during thirty years, and as much longer as they chose to remain in the order, and must render exact obedience to the rules of the sisterhood; the least deviation from these was punished by the rod. In Plutarch's Life of Numa we read, "If these Vestals commit any minor fault, they are punishable by the High-priest only, who scourges the offender."

The Pontifex Maximus, who lived in the *Domus Publica*, adjoining the House of the Vestals, was, in a sense, responsible for the good conduct of the virgins, since he stood in the paternal relation to them. Besides watching them in the closest manner himself, he obtained secret information from the servants of the sisterhood. At the same time he employed every means at his command to shield the nuns from temptation. No man was allowed to pass the threshold

of the House of the Vestals on any pretext whatever, even physicians being excluded. If an illness requiring medical attendance was developed there, the sister was removed and placed under the care of her parents, or of some distinguished matron, while the conduct of the physicians was carefully scrutinised.

The fall of a Vestal was regarded as incest, and its punishment was horrible. The condemnation was followed by the deprivation of the garments of the order and the infliction of flogging by the judges, before the tragic end. Plutarch thus describes one of these executions: —

"The Vestal convicted of incest is buried alive in the neighbourhood of the Porta Collina, under the Agger of Servius Tullius. Here is a crypt, small in size, with an opening in the vault, through which the ladder is lowered; it is furnished with a bed, an oil lamp, and a few scanty provisions, such as bread, water, milk, and oil. These provisions — in fact, a refinement of cruelty — are prepared, because it would appear a sacrilege to condemn to starvation women formerly consecrated to the gods. The unfortunate culprit is brought here in a covered hearse, to which she is tied with leather straps, so that it is impossible that her sighs and lamentations should be heard by the attendant mourners. The crowd opens silently for the passage of the hearse; not a word is pronounced, not a murmur is heard. Tears stream from the eyes of every spectator. It is impossible to imagine a more horrible sight; the whole city is shaken with terror and sorrow. The hearse being brought to the edge of the opening, the executioner cuts the bands, and the High-priest mutters an inaudible prayer, and lifts up his arms toward the gods, before bidding the culprit good-bye. He follows and assists her to the top of the ladder, and turns back at the fatal moment of her disappearance. As soon as she reaches the bottom, the ladder is removed, the opening is sealed, and a large mass of earth is heaped upon the stone that seals it, until the top of the embankment is reached, and every trace of the execution made to disappear."

An offence against the person of a Vestal was punishable by death at any time; and the accomplice of a fallen nun

was flogged to death in the small square between the Forum and the Hall of the Senate.

The place of execution was called *Campus Sceleratus*, — the accursed field; and the Porta Collina, near which it was situated, was discovered about fifteen years ago. The very exact statements of Livy would locate the crypt itself near the east side of the Palazzo delle Finanze, and beneath the Via Goito.

DOMITIANUS GERMANICUS.

When one considers the frightful consequences of the fall of a Vestal, no adjective is sufficiently damning to fitly characterise the fiendish cruelty of Domitian, who determined that the unusual spectacle of the execution of a Vestal should occur in his reign, and found a man who accused Cornelia, the Abbess of the order, with being his companion in the unpardonable crime.

The trial was so irregular as to be absolutely criminal on the part of the Emperor, who did not summon the judges to the ecclesiastical court in the Regia, but to his private grounds at Albanum, where, with no proper witnesses, and without being permitted to vindicate herself, the unfortunate Vestal was condemned to suffer death. Pliny thus describes the end, —

"The priests and the executioner were despatched in great haste to drag their victim to the *Campus Sceleratus*. Raising her hands to Vesta and the immortal gods, she protested her innocence, and kept exclaiming, 'The Emperor declares me guilty of incest, knowing that my prayers alone have given him victory, triumph, and an immortal name!' I do not know whether this was said sincerely or ironically; to mitigate the fury of the tyrant or to ridicule and abuse him. At any rate, she was heard to repeat these words until she reached the fatal spot. In descend-

ing the ladder, the folds of her veil being caught somewhere, she stepped back to adjust it; and as the executioner offered her the help of his hand, and attempted to escort her down, she was horrified, and shrank from his impure contact. She met her fate, certainly, as the purest and noblest of women."

The wretch Celer, who had sworn away her life, suffered the penalty of the accomplice and was flogged to death.

The two important offices of the Vestals were the constant maintenance of the sacred fire upon the altar of the goddess, and the safe keeping of the treasures committed to their care. This fire was regarded as the common hearth of the Roman people, it being in the centre of the temple, just as the family worship was at the domestic hearth, or centre of the dwelling, — the spot most remote from the outside world in the entire house; this was regarded as the appropriate place for devotions to the Lares and Penates, the special guardians of each home. The *Vestalia*, or festival of Vesta, was one of the most welcome and universally popular summer festivals, as the worship of this goddess in every Roman house made her relations to the people far more intimate than those of the more august deities could be.

THE PALLADIUM.

What the treasures were which made the sacred trust of the Vestals, is a mystery. In ancient writings they are mentioned as "some sacred" or "some fatal" things. Cicero distinctly says that the Palladium was the one sacred object in the penetralia of Vesta; this was the statue of Pallas, which was said to have fallen from heaven, and with the sacred fire had been brought from Troy by the heroic Æneas. In contradiction to this assertion by Cicero, Servius says: "There were seven pledges of the prosperity of the Roman Empire; namely, the meteoric stone from Pessi-

nus, the terra-cotta quadriga from Veii, the ashes of Orestes, the sceptre of Priam, the veil of Iliona, the Palladium, the shields named *Ancilia*." The truth seems to be that no one *knows* what the sacred treasures of Vesta were.

But it is known that in addition to their sacred trusts others were given to the Vestals. The wills of emperors and many secret documents were confided to their keeping. Augustus gave them the care of his will, the directions for his funeral, the description of the Empire in its new organisation, and an account of his life.

The Vestals performed important duties in public ceremonies, both civil and religious; as when Vespasian laid the first stone in the Temple of Jupiter, — accompanied by the sons and daughters of the aristocrats, — the Vestals led the procession and sprinkled pure water on the foundations of the new temple.

In civil wars, and other emergencies of State, the Vestals were empowered to treat between the contending parties and to make peace; the life of Cæsar was spared, at the time of Sulla's proscriptions, in answer to the prayers of the Vestals, and on many similar occasions they exerted a powerful influence in aid of Rome. At times their duties seem to have placed them in circumstances of danger, but any personal offence against them was punishable with death.

HELAGABALUS.

The Vestals were held in such respect by the Roman people that an insult, or even a discourtesy, could only be offered them by a wretch like Domitian or a madman like Helagabalus, — who was a priest of the sun-god at Emesa, — whose sacrilegious conduct his biographer thus describes:

"Helagabalus was determined to substitute by main force the worship of his own God, Helagabalus, for that of the Roman gods.

Vesta was not spared in the persecution, and he tried repeatedly to extinguish the perpetual fire. Disappointed in his attempts, he resorted to violence. Contaminated as he was with every excess of immorality, he broke into the innermost sanctuary of the convent penetralia, the approach to which is permitted only to the Vestals and to the high-priests, and actually stole the jar containing – as he was led to believe — the pledges of the Empire. Finding it empty, he smashed it in pieces. Religion, however, lost nothing from the sacrilege, because many such jars are kept in the sanctuary, and nobody knows which is the right one. After renewed attempts, he finally succeeded in obtaining the Palladium, and placed it in his own temple, fastened with chains of gold."

If this sacred object was thus removed from its proper place — which there is much reason to doubt — it must have been restored to it shortly after; and we may conclude that this image of Pallas was small and light — probably of wood – since there are ancient representations of a seated Vestal holding the statue on her outstretched hand.

When the House of the Vestals was discovered in 1883, the foundation of a shrine was found in its midst, but the shrine itself had been levelled with the ground; and it is believed by Commendatore Lanciani and other learned archæologists that the Vestals themselves, on the eve of their banishment from their home, 394 A. D., destroyed the penetralia. Thus the secrets of their treasures and their service were preserved in the hearts of the Vestals alone, and were buried with the last survivor of their number.

VESTA HOLDING THE PALLADIUM AND A SCEPTRE

As one walks through the House of the Vestals, and, with the aid of guides and maps, and the actual knowledge of this order, which has been so much enlarged by the excavations and research of the last twenty years, endeavours to imagine the life here led by this honoured sister-

hood, how many questions arise which no living being can answer; and how many speculations concerning their curiously compound existence! These nuns were still women of the world in an exalted sense, since they were important factors in the chief interests of life in Rome, and unconsciously we query whether such a vocation as theirs, or that of the nuns of the Christian Church, is most beneficial to the world and to the devotees themselves.

The Vestals were in the world, but not of it; their influence was on the side of devotion, of faithfulness to trusts and unselfish abandonment of such joys as most forcibly appeal to the nature of woman, and while they were dedicated to this life when too young to realise its meaning, they could, at full maturity, return to the world and all its freedom, — a world which they fully comprehended and which rarely appeared to them so attractive as their lovely home at the foot of the Palatine Hill. The words of Matilda to King John seem fitly to express the thought of these mature nuns, —

> "My vestal habit me contenting more
> Than all the robes adorning me before."

In December, 1883, and January, 1884, there were found, in the House of the Vestals, fifteen marble pedestals with inscriptions describing the life of the abbesses, or *Vestales maximæ*; five inscriptions relating to historical facts; eleven life-size statues; nine important fragments of statues; twenty-seven busts and portrait heads; columns of exquisite antique marbles; a large number of coins, a few articles of jewelry, and other precious fragments which had long lain hidden beneath the soil of the later Rome.

Commendatore Lanciani makes an interesting suggestion when he says, regarding the plan of the House of the Vestals, as it is now perfectly revealed: "We find in the plan of the building itself the prototype of all the convents and nunneries of the world, the characteristics of which are a

large courtyard surrounded with porticoes, both necessary to give air, light, and the possibility of a little exercise to women condemned for life to almost solitary confinement."

The Atrium, or principal apartment of the House of the Vestals, was so large in comparison with the other apartments — the bedrooms being small and unornamented — that it is not strange that the edifice should have been known as the *Atrium Vestæ*, which was the official name of this nunnery.

Among the portrait statues found, there is one very noble and stately figure of especial value and interest, it being the only known representation of the *suffibulum*, or hood, which was made of white cloth with a purple border; it was folded over the head, the ends being brought forward and fastened below the throat with a *fibula*, or brooch; this hood was a sacrificial vestment.

A distinguishing feature of the costume of the Vestals is seen in the *vittæ*, or ropes of twisted linen, which are wound about the head, the ends frequently falling on the front of the shoulders. These cords are seen on the portraits of all Vestals, and it has been suggested that the number of times that the head is encircled by the *vittæ* is regulated by the rank or special dignity of the Vestal. The dress of these statues is so much the same that there could have been little distinction among the Vestals in the matter of costume.

It consists of a *stola*, or gown, which envelops the entire person from the neck to the feet; it is either sleeveless or has short sleeves fastened with loops and buttons, and is bound about the waist by a cord, or *zona*. Over this gown the *pallium* is worn, — a very full garment, folded about the figure in a variety of ways, forming a most graceful and abundant drapery; a portion of the *pallium* is frequently used as a hood and conceals the hair, which is partly covered by the *vittæ*, but occasional statues permit the hair to be seen; it is long, in spite of its having been cut when the

child Vestal was admitted to the order. The costume is completed by a boot of soft leather, which sometimes has a separate division for the big toe.

Ornaments are not wanting to these portrait statues. In 1591 a statue of a Vestal was found on which a necklace still remained; but this, together with other statues found in 1556, has disappeared. Middleton says that they were probably burned into lime, which suggests to us the debt we owe to those who now conscientiously preserve the treasures of the past which are brought to light. The historian Zosimus relates the story of the robbery of

STOLA.

a necklace from a statue of Vesta, with its horrible consequences: —

"Rome being surrounded and besieged by Alaric, the senators began to suspect Serena — the young princess — of secret connivance with the barbarians. The whole assembly, and even Claudia, the sister of the Emperor, were determined to put her to death, hoping that her execution would induce the besieger to withdrawal. The suspicion, nevertheless, was unjust and groundless. Serena having never dreamed of opening the gates to the enemy; but she was doomed to expiate her sacrilege against the gods, as I shall presently relate. When Theodosius II. entered Rome, after the defeat of Eugenius, and priests and priestesses were expelled from temples, and the temples were closed, Serena manifested a desire to enter and examine one of the temples, the shrine of Rhea — or Vesta. Here she was so captivated by the beauty of a necklace that she took it with her own hands from the shoulders of the goddess, and fixed it on her own neck. An old woman, the last surviving Vestal, having witnessed by chance the profanation, cursed the princess, and predicted that sooner or later she would sadly expiate her crime. Serena at first took no notice of the awful malediction; but the old Vestal had told the truth, — Serena died by strangulation!"

The inscriptions on the fifteen pedestals found in the Atrium are all to the honour of the abbesses of the order, and in some cases more than one is dedicated to the same *Virgo Vestalis maxima*. A pedestal dedicated to Terentia Flavola is interesting, as another inscribed in her honour had been found sixteen hundred and sixty-nine years earlier, 215 A. D. One inscription states that the statue is dedicated to the Vestal through gratitude for her benefits; another, to Flavia, records that "the goddess Vesta herself approved of Flavia's zeal and piety;" another dedication to the same Vestal, who had many statues in her honour, commends her faithful care of the "eternal fires;" it is dated 257 A. D. September 30.

An unusual interest centres in a pedestal, dated 364 A. D., from which the name has been erased. The inscription is translated thus: "[This statue and this pedestal have been

raised] in honour of C—[name erased], abbess of the Vestals, by the college of the high-priests, under the vice-presidency of Macrinius Lossianus, as a testimonial to her chastity and to her profound knowledge in religious matters." Of this remarkable erasure Commendatore Lanciani says:

"It would be very interesting in connection with the history of the last years of the priesthood to ascertain why the name of the abbess was hammered out, to know why the memory of the lady was condemned by the pagan faction, after it had bestowed so many praises upon her. The *memoriæ damnatio* must have taken place between 364, which is the date written on the right side of the marble, and 394, the date of the abolition of the order. Three causes only can be suggested: first, the conversion of the priestess to Christianity; secondly, an offence against the rules; and lastly, a secession from the order. It is quite probable that she became a Christian. Prudentius, in his hymn to S. Lawrence, says, 'Claudia, the Vestal Virgin, enters thy shrine;' and these words have been interpreted by some, not as a general and impersonal indication of the conquests made by the gospel in the most famous strongholds of polytheism, but as positive evidence of a special conquest made in the Atrium itself. We must observe, however, that the conversion of an abbess would have been considered such an enormous victory for the faithful that it is remarkable that it is not mentioned and extolled by other more serious writers than a poet."

A secession from the order after thirty years, which time — as this was an abbess — must have been spent by her in the service of Vesta, could not be punished; this erasure of her name, after the praises that had been lavished on her, would attract public attention and afford the priests a signal revenge.

After the middle of the fourth century there was a severe struggle in Rome between Pagans and Christians, and each party accused the other of all sorts of vices, some of which are unmentionable; and so high did their animosities run that blood was frequently shed in their quarrels. The worship of Cybele and of Mithras flourished at this period, and

numbers of eminent men were initiated into their revolting mysteries; but in spite of all the religious excitements and controversies the Vestals maintained the even tenor of their way, preserving the purity of their order, as it had existed during eleven centuries. Even their enemies mentioned them with courtesy and respect, and the senators who recorded the abominable rites of the Eastern mysteries made no mention of the Vestals except when they themselves assumed the title of *Pontifices Vestæ*.

During the eleven years preceding 394, there was great hesitation and vacillation on the part of the Roman authorities, but the beginning of the end was distinctly visible, and the Vestals could have had no hope that their house and service would long be left to them in peace. We can imagine their unhappiness and their questionings concerning their duty in regard to the treasures that they had so long and faithfully guarded. Clearly, the sacred fires must be extinguished, but should they conceal or destroy the precious objects of their care? Who knows their decision? Did they burn the Palladium or commit it to the earth of their burial-place, which is not known, even to this day? At all events, there remains no reason to doubt that when the edict for their expulsion from the Atrium was published they so effectually destroyed the *penetralia* — the holy of holies to them — that the secrets of their mysteries have never been disclosed.

In the execution of the decree no violence was used, and we may well respect that curious public, those Roman crowds that entered the temple which man had never trod before in safety; who, even in the prevailing fury of religious controversy, did no violence to the edifice nor to its belongings, so that, in spite of the centuries that have rolled between their time and ours, some of the artistic treasures found in 1883 were still in their ancient positions.

The Latins, a mixed race, were descended from the

MERCURY.

Pelasgians and early Italians, the Sabines and the Etruscans, and each of these nations contributed its part to the religion of ancient Rome; which religion was later modified

by a very considerable Greek influence, consequent upon the discovery by the Romans of the similarity which existed between the deities of the Greek and Roman Pantheons.

Consequently, the religion of Pagan Rome clearly displayed the characteristics of the simple moral, native tribes, of the softer and more imaginative Pelasgians, and of the stern, gloomy Etruscans; while the pomp and pageantry of its functions were in keeping with the fondness of the latter race for all that was splendid and effective.

The twelve great gods — Juno, Vesta, Minerva, Ceres, Diana, Venus, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Neptune, Vulcan, and Apollo — were believed to meet in council to make laws for the heavens above and the earth beneath. These gods were honoured with gilded statues in the Forum. But the lesser and more familiar Lares and Penates, in their various offices, were the deities most intimately associated with the life of the entire Roman people, there being public as well as private or family gods in these classes. There were *Lares Rurales*, *Lares Publici*, and many other Lares, as well as *Lares Familiares*, worshipped at the hearth of every family.

DOMESTIC ALTAR.

The family Lares were the spirits of ancestors who guarded their descendants from evil, while the Penates were gods selected by each family as special protectors, and worshipped together with the Lares in each domestic *penetralia*. Every morning, the household being assembled, the head of the family, surrounded by slaves as well as children, offered a prayer before the Lares, who were again invoked before sitting down to eat, and, in the midst of the meal, while all were silent, a morsel of bread and a little salt were thrown upon the hearth. On occasions, libations were poured to

the images of the Lares, which in the early days were but shapeless masses of baked earthenware.

Images of Lares were erected at the crossways, and Augustus, 8 B. C., replaced these figures and instituted the custom of decorating them with flowers in spring and summer, on the feast of the *Compitalia*, or crossways. Augustus himself came to be associated and worshipped with the Lares; he was believed to watch over his people after his death, and was called the "Universal Father." On May-Day the entire Roman people celebrated a festival in honour of the *Lares Præstites*, or protecting Lares.

Ancient writers are somewhat confusing in their accounts of the public Penates; but it would seem that the *Penates Populi Romani* (of the Roman people) were worshipped as two youthful warriors — Castor and Pollux — and were believed to have aided the Romans at the battle of Lake Regillus. The statues of these gods at the top of the Capitoline steps were found in 1556, in or near the Theatre of Balbus; but the temple dedicated to their worship was in the Forum, near that of Vesta, and was erected on the very spot where they appeared to announce the victory at Lake Regillus, 496 B. C., at which time they watered their horses at the spring of Juturna.

This temple, usually called that of Castor only, originally built in 482 B. C., and dedicated on the anniversary of the battle in 480, was rebuilt more than once; but the few beautiful fragments now remaining are believed to belong to the earliest years of the Christian era, when it was reconstructed by Tiberius and Drusus from spoils taken in Germany, and dedicated, 6 A. D. The remaining columns and entablature are of the finest Pentelic marble, of exquisite workmanship, and Middleton says they are "perhaps the most beautiful architectural fragments in Rome."

Much as we value the pedestal designed by Michael Angelo for the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius, or

THE THREE COLUMNS OF THE TEMPLE OF CASTOR.

the statue of Jonah from the design of Raphael, in the Chigi Chapel of S. Maria del Popolo, we shudder when we remember that they cost some columns of this temple, and wonder that these great masters could have consented to such vandalism. The columns of beautiful *verde antico*, now seen on the front flight of steps to the Temple of Castor and Pollux, were found very near it.

Costly sacrifices were offered in this temple on the Ides of July, in gratitude for the aid of the twin gods in the above-mentioned battle; and the *Equites*, or Roman cavalry, who regarded these deities as their especial patrons, dressed in their robes of state, mounted on their finest steeds, and bearing trophies, passed in grand procession from the Temple of Honos, outside the Porta Capena, through the Forum, past the Temple of Castor, to the Capitol.

There were many gods of moral qualities to whom the Romans dedicated temples, such as the gods of Peace, Concord, Piety, Fortune, and Virtue. There were also Fates and Furies, Goddesses of Funerals, of Thieves, and of a great variety of occasions and classes, as well as the genii who haunted woods, fountains, grottoes, and caves, and worked the will of the gods for good or evil.

The sacred festivals were so numerous that almost every day was devoted to the special worship of some deity, celebrated by prayers, offerings, and sacrifices. Prayers, either public or private, were conducted with fitting solemnity. One about to pray covered his head, put his right hand to his lips, turned entirely round moving to the right, and sank down kneeling, or quite prostrate, with his face to the East. If in a temple he embraced the knees of the statue of the god, or seized the horns of the altar. If a celestial deity were addressed, the hands were turned up; if the aid of a being of the Nether World were desired, the hands were reversed. The words used in prayer were deemed of such importance that not infrequently a priest dictated the proper

expressions, and great care was exercised lest a god should be displeased by the omission of any one of his names or honorary titles.

The offerings to the gods were of two kinds, — permanent gifts, and those which were destroyed in the offering, as in

SACRIFICE.

the case of sacrifices, banquets, and games. The permanent gifts, called *donaria*, were sometimes of great value, including costly works of art, gorgeous tapestries, gold work, and jewels, and such other treasures as often made the spoils of war. At times these gifts had no intrinsic value, but commemorated an epoch in the life of the donor, as when

young maidens gave their dolls to Venus, or the young man his amulet — *bulla* — which had protected his childhood from the Evil Eye, to the Lares, when he assumed the manly toga. In ancient Rome, as to-day, the sailor made a gift to his protecting deity, in gratitude for his rescue from a threatened death, and the convalescent hung in the temple a votive tablet detailing the sufferings he had survived, or a model of a member which had been cured of disease, made in a precious metal.

BULLA

Naturally the Temple of Æsculapius, erected about 458, on the island now known as S. Bartolomeo, was much frequented by afflicted Romans; and it seems a "survival of the fittest" that the site of this temple has always been, and still is, the location of a hospital. Commendatore Lanciani says: —

"The practice followed by the Roman lower classes was this, — patients whose life was in danger were brought into the peristyle or atrium of the sanctuary and put to sleep there, evidently by means of narcotic drugs, in order that Æsculapius might manifest in their dreams the proper way of healing their troubles. Once the recipe was obtained, the priests themselves undertook the cure of the patients; and if the cure succeeded, by some unforeseen and wonderful coincidence, then an *ex-voto* was suspended in the sacristy of the sanctuary, together with a tablet describing the happy event."

Another custom of ancient Rome, which has survived to this day in Catholic countries, was that of having near the temples shops in which a great variety of *ex-votos* were sold;

one of these was discovered in 1885, of which Commendatore Lanciani gives this description: —

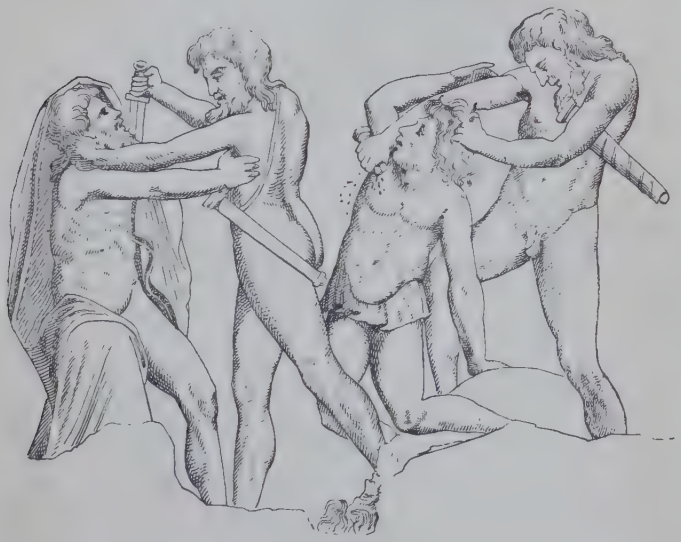
"It contained a large number of anatomical specimens in painted terra-cotta, beautifully modelled from nature, and representing heads, ears, eyes, breasts, arms, hands, knees, legs, feet, *ex-votos* to be offered by happy mothers, etc. The most interesting pieces are three life-size human trunks, cut open across the front, and showing the whole anatomical apparatus of the various organs, such as the lungs, liver, heart, bowels, etc."

Sacrifices of fruits, flowers, honey, wine, cakes, and salt, or the precious frankincense, were made, and no sacred rite was complete without the perfumed smoke of burning gums. Again, living victims were sacrificed, and special creatures were deemed acceptable to certain gods, as the bull to Jupiter, the goat to Bacchus, etc. It was also necessary that the sacrificial animals should be acceptable to the priests, who were believed to know the qualities in them which would propitiate each deity. In seasons of great solemnity, as on the occasion of a purification, many creatures were sacrificed, and some were even set aside from birth as sacrificial animals. These were always perfect, and the bulls and heifers thus destined were exempted from labour. For the solemn honours paid to the Capitoline Jove milk-white steers from Umbria were alone acceptable.

Nothing of importance was undertaken without a sacrifice, whether it concerned the public, or private individuals only; in the former case the ceremonies were most impressive, and while the same is true, in a sense, of the private sacrifices, the methods were much more simple.

When the sacrifices were made to the Celestial Gods, the entrails alone were burned, and the flesh reserved as a feast for the priests or the family. The solemnity was accompanied by prayer and music, while the observers were silent. Those who officiated in the actual offering washed their

hands in pure water, and covered their heads that they might see no ill-omened sight; and the flute was played that no ill-omened sound should be heard. When the sacrifice was offered to the powers of the Nether World the flesh of the animal was consumed, as no man would eat that which



HUMAN SACRIFICES.

had been devoted to infernal deities. The altar, which in other sacrifices was above the ground, was sunk in a trench: in one case the sacrificer was robed in white, in the other, in black; in place of the pure white victims of which we have spoken, those of a dark colour — black if possible — were killed; the methods of slaughter used in the one case were reversed in the other; as with the hands in prayer, so with the ladle used in the libations; it was turned up toward heaven or down toward hell; and the blood which was

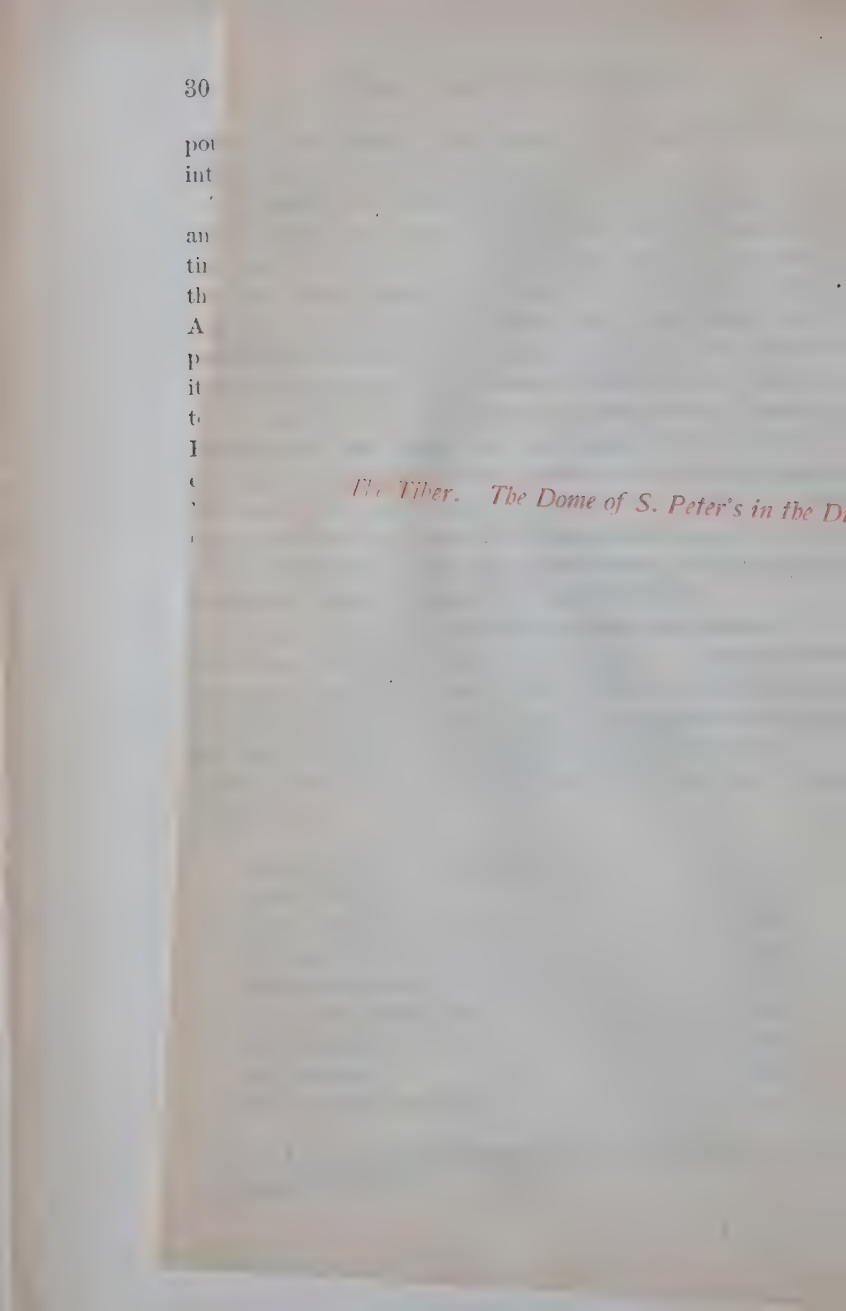
poured on the altar of the Celestials was permitted to run into the trench of the Infernals.

The sacrifice of human beings was not uncommon in ancient Rome, and there is little doubt that four such victims were buried alive in the Forum Boarium, in 216 B. C., the spot where these murders had formerly taken place. Augustus forbade such sacrifices, which had earlier been prohibited by the Senate, but he permitted those who desired it to make slight libations of their own blood. It is difficult to fix the date at which human sacrifices actually ceased; Pliny asserts that during the first century of the Christian era, men were buried alive for political and religious crimes. We know that about half a century B. C., under Julius Cæsar, two soldiers were immolated; but it is not known whether this was a religious sacrifice to Mars, or the frightful expiation of some sin against military discipline.

The right to perform sacrifices without the presence of a priest was sometimes granted to civilians. A very curious inscription which has been found relates that one Quintus Octavius Daphnicus, who had built a banqueting hall within the sacred enclosure of a temple, was thus privileged. A tariff of the cost of these offerings also exists, and is as follows: —

For the blood of —— (perhaps a bull) . . .	——	——
And for its hide	——	——
If the victim be entirely burnt	XXV	asses.[1]
For the blood and skin of a lamb	IV	asses.
If the lamb be entirely burnt	VI½	asses.
For a cock (entirely burnt)	III½	asses.
For blood alone	XIII	asses.
For a wreath	IV	asses.
For hot water (per head)	II	asses.

[1] An *as* was an ancient Roman copper coin, which varied in value as the coinage was changed.



The Tiber. The Dome of S. Peter's in the D

Concerning this tariff, Commendatore Lanciani says that its meaning

"will be easily understood if we recall the details of a Græco-Roman sacrifice in regard to the apportionment of the victim's flesh. The parts which were the perquisites of the priests differ in different worships; sometimes we hear of legs and skin, sometimes of tongue and shoulder. In the case of private sacrifices, the rest of the animal was taken home by the sacrificer to be used for a meal or sent as a present to friends. This was, of course, impossible in the case of 'holocausts,' in which the victim was burnt whole on the altar. In the Roman ritual hides and skins were always the property of the temple. In the above tariff two prices are charged, — a smaller one for ordinary sacrifices, when only the intestines were burnt, and the rest of the flesh was taken home by the sacrificer; a larger one for 'holocausts,' which required a much longer use of the altar, spit, gridiron, and other sacrificial instruments."

Religious banquets were at first celebrated on important occasions only, but later came to be very frequent, and were conducted in various methods. That of the Capitoline Jupiter was spread in the Capitol, and the statue of the god was placed upon a couch beside the table in the reclining posture of Roman men at their meals. On each side of Jupiter were statues of Juno and Minerva in the upright position customary with Roman women at table. A banquet to a male divinity was called a *lectisternium*, — an entertainment for gods; and when in honour of a goddess was termed a *sellisternium*, because seats were used. In times of great prosperity or adversity it was not unusual for the Senate to order banquets served to numerous gods, either in the temples or in places of public resort.

It is said that this form of religious rite was commanded in the Sibylline Books, and was first observed 399 B. C., when a pestilence was raging; during the next seventy years but three banquets were celebrated. After a time, however, these feasts were made a part of the regular service of

certain gods, and occurred on many fixed days of the year. Originally the banquets were superintended by the High-priest, but in 196 B. C., when public ceremonies had become more numerous, three priests were appointed for the special service of banquets, and later their number was increased to ten; and at length, in the multitude of ceremonials, as many as were needed were appointed to this duty. They were allowed to wear the purple-bordered cloak, — *toga prætexta*, — the garment of those engaged in administering sacred rites, as well as of other priests, magistrates, etc.

Any public banquet was considered as a religious rite, and was usually conducted with certain solemnities. At times all householders prepared feasts, opened their doors, and invited all who passed by to enter and eat. We do not know whether each citizen provided his feast, or was given its cost by the Senate. Under the Republic it was customary for wealthy Romans to give magnificent entertainments in the temples or Forum, at which their friends, and at times the whole community, were guests. These costly and splendid banquets frequently made a prominent feature of the funeral rites of great men, as when at the funeral of Africanus, Q. Maximus invited the entire Roman people.

Perhaps the most interesting, and certainly the most remarkable functions, when considered as religious rites, were the great variety of *Ludi*, games; but so essentially were these estimated as religious observances that games, holy days, and sacred festivals came to be synonymous terms, all denoting religious celebrations. Some games were fixed on certain days, as the Great Roman Games on the fourth of September and the festival of Flora on the twenty-eighth of April; others which were celebrated annually were appointed each year by the authorities. Games to celebrate a victory, or to avert a misfortune, were ordered by the Senate, the magistrates, or priests, as well as those

in fulfilment of vows. Private games also occurred, especially in connection with the obsequies of the wealthy or famous.

The designations of games were also taken from the places in which they occurred, as games of the circus and scenic games, given in theatres; the gladiatorial games belonged to the amphitheatre. The games of the circus consisted of chariot and horse races, athletic contests, mock battles on horseback, sham fights by land and sea, — the circus being flooded for the latter, — contests of wild beasts, and before the days of amphitheatres, some gladiatorial struggles.

VICTORIOUS ATHLETE.

All these religious rites began with a solemn procession from the Capitol, through the Forum, to the circus, which was led by the magistrates, followed by youthful bands of cavalry and infantry; next came those who were to take part in the games, with the musicians and dancers; after these were the incense-bearers with their gold and silver boxes, followed by men bearing the images of the principal gods. When all those who had part in the procession had found their places in the theatre, the chief of the magistrates present, with the priests, offered a sacrifice, after which the games began.

These various exhibitions were originally conducted in a simple, modest manner, but they gradually became of such importance that fine theatres, circuses, and amphitheatres were built and carried from one stage of perfection to

another until they reached such proportions as are scarcely imaginable.

The Circus Maximus, in its final state, could comfortably seat two hundred and eighty-five thousand spectators; and Middleton says it "could hold the almost incredible number of four hundred and eighty-five thousand." Founded in the days of Tarquinius Priscus, it was enlarged, burned, rebuilt, and perfected through centuries, and did not reach its greatest magnificence until the second century of the Christian era. In Trajan's reign, 98–117 A. D., it was covered within and without with white marble, and adorned with paintings, mosaics, splendid columns of Oriental marbles, and statues in marble and gilt bronze. Even these splendours were increased by Constantine and Constantius; and the obelisk now standing by the church of S. John Lateran was placed on the *spina* of this circus, — the low wall running lengthwise, not far from the middle of the arena, — as that now in the Piazza del Popolo had been set in the centre of the same *spina* by Augustus.

Originally the prehistoric altar of the god Consus made a part of this *spina*, and was exposed to view during the games. There are many ancient representations of the Circus Maximus, one of which shows the *spina* with its statues, a four-horse chariot, an obelisk, and the seven marble eggs and the seven dolphins, which were used to mark the seven turns of the chariots around the course. Fortunately, during the later excavations, seven marble portrait busts of victorious charioteers were found, which are now in the Museum of the Baths of Diocletian. They are spirited and well executed, and are probably of the time of Hadrian. Each bust is on a pedestal of coloured marble, and around the shoulders of each, thongs of leather are wound.

Probably no great edifice constructed of stone and marbles, and so recently complete, has so utterly disappeared. Almost nothing of it remains; but curiously enough, few

CHARIOTEER.

edifices have been so carefully described, and it is not difficult to imagine the scene when a great race or game was going on, or when, as Pliny relates, two to three hundred lions were killed there in a day, together with great numbers of smaller and less costly animals.

On one occasion Pompey displayed six hundred lions in the arena, and Augustus afforded a rare entertainment when five hundred Getulians fought with twenty elephants. The excitement of these exhibitions was such that they were prolonged almost indefinitely; it is said that on one occasion they endured through three days and nights; and the most earnest desire of the Romans came to be expressed in the words "Panem et Circenses," — Bread and the Circus, — while the unspeakable cruelties of these exhibitions afforded the most intense delight to men and women alike. Both matrons and maidens from the upper seats applauded the most bloody spectacles; while the Vestal Virgins in the *podium* rarely exercised their privilege of saving life, and if sympathy was shown by any of the thousands of spectators, it was for the animals rather than for the gladiators. Mrs. Browning has translated the vivid description of the scene given by Amphilochius: —

> "They sit, unknowing of these agonies,
> Spectators at a show. When a man flies
> From a beast's jaw, they groan, as if at least
> They missed the ravenous pleasure, like the beast,
> And sat there vainly. When in the next spring
> The victim is attained, and, uttering
> The deep roar or quick shriek between the fangs,
> Beats on the dust the passion of his pangs, —
> All pity dieth in that glaring look.
> They clap to see the blood run like a brook;
> They stare with hungry eyes, which tears should fill,
> And cheer the beasts on with their soul's good-will;
> And wish more victims to their maw, and urge
> And lash their fury, as they shared the surge,
> Gnashing their teeth, like beasts, on flesh of men."

The degradation of the Roman women, ministered to by their habits, their divorce laws, and their amusements, was grounded in their religion, which, with its abominable rites, early destroyed their innocence and sowed the seeds of all their future depravity and grossness. After the scenes that

they beheld in the circus and amphitheatre, could murder seem to them a crime, or the death of a few men of any importance? How few names of Roman women of virtue have been preserved in history, and of their opposites how many!

A part of Saint Peter's stands upon the site of the Circus of Caligula and Nero, where the latter emperor inflicted fiendish tortures upon the Christians. The obelisk now in the Piazza of Saint Peter stood upon the *spina* of this circus and towered above the frightful exhibitions of human depravity on the part of the Emperor, and of superhuman courage and constancy on that of his victims. Commendatore Lanciani believes that at the foot of this obelisk, on the *spina* of the Circus of Nero, Saint Peter suffered death; which fact was commemorated for many years by the Chapel of the Crucifixion.

Nero favoured the exhibition of sea-fights — called *Naumachiæ* — and the circuses could be flooded for these games; but Julius Cæsar, Augustus, and Domitian made ponds near the Tiber for this purpose, and we have an account of a remarkable naval battle held by command of Cæsar after his triumphant return from Spain and Gaul.

The great basin near the Tiber, on which the spectacle occurred, accommodated a hundred vessels of different sorts; this fleet was divided into two parts, one of which was stationed at each end of the lake, and were supposed to represent the Trojans and the Egyptians. Eighteen thousand men were required to man these fleets, and were supplied by prisoners of war, slaves, and gladiators; but so dangerous was it considered to mass these people in such numbers, that troops, sword in hand, were stationed around the vast *Naumachia*. When all was in readiness for the battle, Cæsar made an impressive entrance. He was preceded by lictors with laurel-wreathed rods and surrounded by officials; his triumphal robe, the rich golden fringe falling over his white

hands, his tall and graceful figure, and, above all, his crown of laurel, made him easily distinguishable amid the throng which attended him to his chair of state. Suetonius says that of all his lofty privileges Cæsar most prized his right

NAUMACHIA, FROM A COIN OF DOMITIAN.

to wear, at all times, the laurel wreath; because this great man was personally vain, and when he had carefully brushed the little hair he had remaining over the top of his head, the wreath concealed, as he thought, the fact of his baldness.

As the Emperor advanced to his place, murmurs of discontent were heard throughout the assembly, and some of the bolder men reproached him with the cost of his displays, and asked that he should give them money rather than these spectacles. This so enraged Cæsar that he seized one of the speakers who was near him and ordered him to instant death.

Before beginning the fight, the fleets passed in review before the Emperor, each man hailing him with the cry, "Ave, Imperator, morituri te saluant!" — Hail, Cæsar, those who are to die salute thee! Cæsar heard, or did not hear this unmoved, and appearing to forget everything about him, was lost in reading letters, which indifference offended the people far more than did the horrible loss of life, to which they were accustomed. As the contest proceeded, various weapons and missiles, some of which were on fire, flew all around; the massacre was horrible; vessels foundered, and the men who had manned them floated on the water; those who reached the shore were driven back to drown by the immovable soldiers; the decks of other vessels were piled high with the dead; agitated by the movements of the fleet, the bloody waters rose and fell, while the merciless carnage continued, and one after the other of the disabled boats sank out of sight, until but few remained above the water and nearly all the thousands of men who had manned them were dead.

Suddenly great Cæsar remembered what was occurring, and, rising to view the dreadful scene, he granted the wretched survivors their worse than worthless lives and withdrew amid the angry murmurs of the people, who fiercely resented the disdain which he had shown for all this costly pageant.

Of the Roman theatres, which differed but slightly from those of the Greeks, there are few remains, and even the small portions of them which can be traced are covered by modern houses. It was in the use rather than the construction that the Roman theatres were unlike the Greek; in the latter the orchestra was occupied by the chorus, while in Rome it was set apart for the use of the senators and other persons of importance; and while the Greeks used the theatre for the drama alone, the Romans intruded their butcheries even here. Scaurus, who built a magnificent

theatre, — as a new excitement for the already surfeited Romans, — introduced the killing of crocodiles and hippopotami in enormous tanks, so constructed as to simulate a river.

ATHLETES WRESTLING.

In Pompey's Theatre gladiators fought the costly lions and elephants, and accounts were kept of the numbers of the beasts which were killed, but no note was made of the murders of the less expensive men.

The Theatre of Marcellus, built by Augustus, was greatly injured by fire in the reign of Trajan, but the remainder of the outer, semi-circular wall, which may be seen in the Piazza Montanara, is built into the huge, ugly Palazzo

Orsini, after having served as a fortress in feudal days. The Doric columns of the lower story are half buried; doors and windows have been pierced here and there, according to the needs of the wretched shop-keepers and others who inhabit it; time has marred its beauty, and yet it is both imposing and picturesque, and its columns, both Doric and Ionic, have been considered as of the best style of these orders of architecture.

During the Pontificate of Damasus, 366–384 A. D. he took forty-four columns of red Egyptian granite from Pompey's Theatre for the decoration of his library, which has disappeared; but Cardinal Riario, in 1486, again used these columns in the marvellous courtyard of his beautiful Palazzo della Cancellaria, where they are still seen in close proximity to marbles from the Arch of Gordianus and travertine from the Colosseum.

The amphitheatres were not, like so many Roman edifices, copied from the Greeks, who followed no customs so barbarous as those for which these structures were designed. They were original with the Romans, or borrowed from the Etruscans, with whom, no doubt, the burying of living victims, the murder of prisoners of war and slaves, and gladiatorial combats were customary in the celebration of the funeral rites of men of note. As gladiatorial contests were at first purely religious observances, and the victims were sacrificed to the souls of the dead, they occurred only in connection with funeral ceremonies. There is, however, no proof that the Etruscans had amphitheatres, — although human sacrifices were represented on the walls of their tombs, — and it is probable that they were an invention of the Romans. No beautiful architecture was original with this people; and their amphitheatres were constructed on so practical a plan, and so frankly suited to their purpose, that there was little opportunity for the expression of æsthetic feeling in them, even had it existed. In short, the Romans

were great engineers and builders rather than architects. The exterior decoration and the interior arrangement of the amphitheatre were essentially copied from the Greek theatre, and by simply joining two of these together and rearranging the arena thus formed, an edifice was produced which was well suited to the uses for which it was designed.

GLADIATOR.

The admirable system of staircases by which these huge places could be filled and emptied without confusion; the perfect system of drainage; and the wonderful arrangement of the substructures, — were the features which displayed the talents of Roman builders at their best.

The vast underground spaces were used for many purposes, such as the storage of scenery, awnings, and the bulky machinery necessary to the various spectacles of the arena. The excavation of the Flavian Amphitheatre, or Colosseum, made under Commendatore Rosa, in 1872, disclosed the dens of beasts, situated twenty feet below the arena. In the roof of each den is an opening through which food could be thrust in without danger from the fierce creatures, while a stream of water running before the dens afforded them drink. There are indications of inclined planes on which heavy cages could be raised to the arena; there were also lifts in four passages — doubtless of a later period — by which cages full of beasts could be raised to the trap-doors in the floor of the arena, and the savage creatures suddenly introduced into the combats.

PORTION OF THE ARENA OF THE COLOSSEUM.

Doubtless the ruined Colosseum, with its varied outline, is a more pleasing structure than it could have been when perfect, with all its heaviness and enormous unrelieved wall spaces, but it is now far less beautiful than when draped with vines, when the arena was covered with hard green turf, and occupied by the Cross, and the fourteen stations of the Passion of our Lord, — in memory of those who were martyred here, — when frequent processions of monks, acolytes, and veiled women passed from the cross to the stations, chanting a sacred hymn and praying to a God of love, where of old hecatombs of victims were sacrificed to deities of revenge and hate. One can but regret the necessity of scraping away each tiny plant that here puts forth its tendrils; but in spite of its unbecoming nakedness, it is the most impressive monument of ancient Rome, and if all its associations are taken into account, those of both Pagan and Christian significance, is it not the most impressive ruin in existence?

Perhaps no one has better described the effects to which I have referred — which I so well remember, and so deeply regret — as did Charles Dickens when he said: —

"It is no fiction, but plain, sober, honest truth, to say — so suggestive and distinct is it at this hour — that, for a moment — actually in passing in — they who will, may have the whole great pile before them, as it used to be, with thousands of eager faces staring down into the arena, and such a whirl of strife and blood and dust going on there as no language can describe. Its solitude, its awful beauty, and its utter desolation, strike upon the stranger, the next moment, like a softened sorrow; and never in his life, perhaps, will he be so moved and overcome by any sight not immediately connected with his own afflictions and affections. To see it crumbling there, an inch a year; its walls and arches overgrown with green, its corridors open to the day; the long grass growing in its porches: young trees of yesterday springing up on its ragged parapets, and bearing fruit, — chance product of the seeds dropped there by birds who build their nests within its

chinks and crannies; to see its pit of fight filled up with earth, and the peaceful cross planted in the centre; to climb into its upper halls, and look down on ruin, ruin, ruin, all about it; the triumphal arches of Constantine, Septimius Severus, and Titus, the Roman Forum, the Palace of the Cæsars, the temples of the old religion, fallen down and gone, — is to see the ghost of old Rome, wicked, wonderful old city, haunting the very ground on which its people trod. It is the most impressive, the most stately, the most solemn, grand, majestic, mournful sight conceivable. Never, in its bloodiest prime, can the sight of the gigantic Colosseum, full and running over with the lustiest life, have moved one heart as it must move all who look upon it now, a ruin. God be thanked: a ruin!"

One can never be certain, when examining the present edifices in Rome, that he is not seeing portions of the Colosseum, as it was but a rich quarry to the builders of churches and palaces. The apostolic chamber drove a thriving trade in ruins, receiving thirty-three per cent of all that was taken from them. That the Colosseum was a treasure-house for this traffic is proved by a state document discovered by Eugene Müntz, which states that in 1452 a single contractor removed from this amphitheatre two thousand five hundred and fifty-two cart-loads of travertine. Undoubtedly the beautiful marbles and mosaics which were the pride of the Colosseum are frequently seen in various places in modern Rome. Commendatore Lanciani says, —

"In the fifteenth century, — it is useless to deny it, — the Flavian amphitheatre was considered by everybody, whether Humanists or illiterate, as a mere quarry of stone for building purposes. Nicholas V., Pius II., in spite of their laws of protection of ancient buildings, knocked down arcade after arcade, without the slightest scruple."

The only ameliorating circumstance in this regard is, that doubtless the wholesale destruction of this huge monument may have been the reason for leaving others intact, since it supplied the builder's needs so generously.

To die for the amusement of the Romans was but one of the duties of slaves and prisoners of war. They essentially performed the entire labour of Rome; for how could "the people," who in the observance of their religion (!) were almost daily at some public function, find time to work? It was for slaves to do the menial domestic service, to exercise the minor useful trades, to till the fields, to build bridges and roads, to rear the circuses and amphitheatres, in which other slaves — perhaps their own children — would die at the pleasure of "the people." When these wretches laboured on great monuments, like the Colosseum, they died by hundreds, falling where they stood, and were speedily replaced by others; and thus the work went on until the proud day when the great amphitheatre was dedicated by Titus, 80 A. D.

The magnificence of this ceremony can scarcely be exaggerated. Novel displays were introduced, one of which was a battle between dwarfs and cranes; there were women among the gladiators, although no noble matrons were permitted to enter the arena; when five thousand animals had been slaughtered, the arena was flooded, and a sea-fight occurred. After all was over, Titus wept, and there were many speculations as to the cause of his sadness; as he already felt the approach of death, — he lived but a few months longer, — he may have sorrowed at the thought that he could sacrifice no more beasts and men in this magnificent manner.

In the Colosseum, Hadrian celebrated his birthday with marvellous spectacles. The slaughter of two hundred lions, male and female, and eight hundred other beasts, was but a detail of the fête. The great marvel was that the entire arena was converted into a forest of living trees, among which shrubs and plants were blooming, while from time to time the ground opened in certain places, from which animals were disgorged, and the spot was instantly re-covered with bushes.

Perhaps the most important factor in the Pagan religion was the absolute belief in omens, and the regulation of affairs, both great and small, by auguries. The Augurs, or divining priests, were of an origin so remote as to be unknown, and Romulus — who, in the light of recent knowledge, is not a myth, but the founder of Rome, 754 B. C. — consulted the omens in his momentous undertaking; no ancient Roman entered upon any important matter without ascertaining, as he believed, the will of the gods.

AUGUR.

Every sight or sound might be an omen, and so important a science as the reading of auguries demanded the devotion of a life for their comprehension. Romulus is said to have appointed three augurs, and the number varied at different periods, reaching sixteen under Julius Cæsar; this office could not be taken from a priest, when once installed in it; its special badges were the purple striped tunic and the *lituus*, or staff, used to mark out the regions of the heavens when making their observations.

In the earliest days of Rome its religion was its life, and Duruy well describes it: —

"The word religion signifies bond, or obligation. In no other country, in no other times, has this bond been so strong as at Rome; it united the citizens to one another and to the state. As the Romans saw gods everywhere; as all nature, sky, earth, and water was to them full of divinities who watched over human beings with benevolent or jealous eyes, there was no act of life which did not require a prayer or an offering, a sacrifice or a purification, according to the rites prescribed by the ministers of religion. This piety, being the offspring of fear, was all the more attentive in observing signs considered favourable or the reverse;

so that everything depended on religion, — private life, from the cradle to the tomb, public life, from the comitia to the field of battle; even business and pleasure. Games and races were celebrated in honour of the gods; the people's songs were hymns, their dances a prayer, their music, uncouth but sacred harmonies; and, as in the Middle Ages, the earliest dramas were pious mysteries. By the continual intervention of the pontiffs, who knew the necessary rites and sacred formulæ, by that of the augurs, aruspices, and all the interpreters of omens, this religion, devoid of dogmas and of clergy, of ideal and of love, was yet a great force of cohesion for the state and a powerful discipline for the citizens."

The various games of the Romans, the reasons for which they were instituted and the manner of their observance, furnish one of the most interesting subjects connected with the pagan religion. These games preserved their character of religious rites during many centuries, the statues of the gods being carried in their processions. Expensive as the games were, — to the State, the prætors, consuls, and other officials whose duties included the provision of these spectacles, — they were free to the people. Three hundred and eighty-five thousand were admitted to the Circus Maximus without cost to themselves.

In the beginning there were but sixty-six annual holidays for the celebration of games and feasts; but the emperors gave festivals not mentioned in the pontifical calendar, and in a document dated 354 A. D. the number of annual games is given as one hundred and seventy-five, showing that, although the Church disapproved of them, they were still very frequent, both at Rome and at Constantinople. They were also very costly and magnificent; and Procopius states that under Justinian the consular games alone cost two thousand pounds of gold.

The *Lupercalia* and the Great Roman Games were among the most ancient of these spectacles. The former was associated with the name of Romulus, and was celebrated on the fifteenth of February, in the Lupercal, a large cave,

shaded by trees, said to have been the home of the she-wolf that suckled Romulus and Remus. Middleton says that the exact position of this cave is unknown, while Commendatore Lanciani places its opening "under the northwest spur of the Palatine." After a time, this cave was, in some manner, converted into a building and decorated; the Ancyrean inscription, which gives a list of the buildings of Augustus, mentions the Lupercal as having been rebuilt by him.

The cave was dedicated to Lupercus, or Faun, who was specially worshipped by shepherds as the "driver away of wolves," and the god of fertility, who was able to largely increase their flocks. The Luperci, or priests of this deity, on the day of the festival, sacrificed dogs and goats, after which two noble youths were led before the priests, one of whom touched the youths on the forehead with a sword dipped in the blood of the victims; a second priest wiped the blood away with wool dipped in milk, upon which the youths broke into shouts of laughter. This ceremony is supposed to have symbolised the purification of the shepherds. The priests were then served with food and a generous amount of wine, after which they cut the skins of the sacrificial goats in pieces and attached these to parts of their bodies, in imitation of Lupercus, who was represented as partially clothed in skins. They took other strips of skins as whips, and ran through the streets, striking at the people whom they met. Women came forward to be thus touched, hoping by this means to bear children more frequently and less painfully.

When the Romans ceased to be essentially a nation of shepherds, the Lupercalia lost much of its significance, but was observed in memory of Romulus until the reign of Cæsar, when it fell into neglect; Augustus restored it, and it was observed as late as the reign of Theodosius. Antony, when consul, was one of the Luperci, and ran through the streets in a half-nude state, wearing patches of skins, and

in this revolting condition he made an address in the Forum. Later Romans were offended at the indecencies of the Lupercí, even when they were patricians, as was frequently the case; but so deeply rooted was this worship in the prejudices of the people, that it could not be easily set aside, and traces of it existed to the close of the fifth century of the Christian era.

It was during the Lupercalia in 44 B. C. that Cæsar, as Dictator, sat in his golden chair before the rostra, his head crowned with the laurel wreath, when Antony offered him a diadem, saying, "This is what the Roman people send thee." Hearing no shouts from the crowd in the Forum, Cæsar pushed the diadem aside, and immediately the air was rent with applause. Again Antony tempted him; and again Cæsar declined the emblem of the power which he no doubt desired most ardently. Again shouts of approval rang out, and Cæsar said, "Jupiter is the only king of the Romans; to him the diadem belongs;" and he ordered it taken to the Capitol to be suspended in the temple of the great god. But he caused to be inscribed in the public annals the fact that the Roman people had offered him a crown which he had refused.

Another festival of the shepherds was the *Palilia*, so named for the pastoral goddess, Pales, the protector of herds. This festival occurred on the twenty-first of April, which date was accepted as that of the foundation of Rome, and is still celebrated as the anniversary of that momentous event. The Romans of to-day glory in its antiquity, and justly; who would not be enthusiastic in love of a national celebration that could boast of such an age? Two thousand six hundred and forty-nine years!

The customs of the Palilia in its earlier years were much less vulgar than those of the Lupercalia, and seem to have originated in the idea of purification for the shepherds and their flocks, as both men and animals ran through a sacred

fire three times to the music of cymbals and flutes. The stables were cleansed and decorated with bay boughs, while the smoke of burning sulphur, rosemary, fir wood, and incense added its purifying effect to that of fresh water. The Palilia ended in an open-air feast at evening, and continued to be thus celebrated until shepherds no longer dwelt in Rome, and its customs were gradually changed to suit its more enduring idea as a memorial of the founding of the city.

The institution of the Circensian, Roman, or Great Games is traditionally attributed to Romulus, who, when he wished to entice the Sabines to Rome, celebrated these games. But authoritative accounts of their origin fix its date at a much later time than that of the rape of the Sabines, and they are best known as the Great Roman Games of the Circus Maximus, Chariot Races, Sham Fights, Equestrian Battles, Gymnastic Contests, Fights of Wild Beasts, and Naval Battles.

The procession with which these games began was of unusual solemnity, and the altar of Consus on the *spina* of the circus was uncovered. This deity is best described as an equestrian Neptune; and, according to the fables, it was in his honour that Romulus held the games from which the Sabine women were carried off. The Great Games were held from the fourth to the twelfth of September, and were in honour of three important divinities, whose names are differently given, — some authorities making them Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, while others include Consus in this trinity.

There were games suited to the special interests of all Romans above the very lowest classes, such as games of the fishermen, held annually on the banks of the Tiber; games of the plebeians during three days in November; of the quæstors, the magistrates, and many others of a similar character.

Recent excavations have revealed much of importance concerning the sæcular games. A *sæculum*, from which

these games are named, is supposed to have been a period of one hundred and ten years, which essentially corresponded to our century. It does not appear, however, that these games were celebrated regularly. The rarity of their occurrence is shown in the words of the heralds in the time of Septimius Severus, who were heard through Rome and all Italy, crying out, "Come to these games, which you will never see again." The sæcular games were first celebrated in 508 B. C., and were repeated at very irregular intervals, only four celebrations occurring before that of Augustus, 17 B. C.; the sixth was that of Claudius, 47 A. D., which was followed by that of Domitian, 88 A. D., and the final one occurred 204 A. D., under Septimius Severus. These dates are given by Censorinus; other authorities add a celebration under Antonine, 147 A. D., and another by Philip, 248 A. D., a thousand years after the founding of Rome.

In September, 1890, workmen engaged in constructing a sewer found, on the left bank of the Tiber, between the church of S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini and the Bridge of S. Angelo, a wall constructed of fragments from various ruins. From these fragments records of the sæcular games of Augustus and of Septimius Severus were selected; and when those relating to the celebration of Augustus were fitted together, they made a block three metres high, containing one hundred and sixty-eight minutely inscribed lines, which is now in the Museum of the Baths of Diocletian.

From Mommsen, who has edited the inscriptions, it appears that the sæcular games originated as follows: In the ancient days of Rome there existed on the northwest borders of the Campus Martius a pool called Tarentum, fed by hot springs which proved to have curative properties. In this vicinity there were many indications of volcanic action; and tongues of flame rose from fissures in the ground, from which it was called the "fiery field," and came to be regarded as a portion of the infernal regions.

AUGUSTUS IN THE TOGA.

An altar to Dis and Proserpina was erected here, and games held, the sacrifices being a black bull and a black cow. Volesus, a Sabine, whose three children had been

healed of an illness by the waters of the springs, is said to have offered the sacrifices, spread banquets for the gods, and continued the games three nights, as three cures had been effected.

Under the Republic the games celebrated here were called *Ludi Tarentini*, and could have had no fixed times, as they were only held for the purpose of averting the recurrence of calamities. Soon after the accession of Augustus the priests, known as the *Quindecemviri*, informed the Emperor that by the will of the gods the sæcular games must be celebrated, and the summer of 17 B. C. was fixed for their occurrence. Previous to the discoveries of 1890 a goodly amount of information existed concerning this great occasion, as well as the sæcular song written for it by Horace.

As one reads these ancient inscriptions, many thoughts occur which have a practical application to ways and means as employed by the Romans, and by men with like official duties in our own time. The respect shown by Augustus to his Senate and Quindecemviri, and the same feeling on their part toward the Emperor, reads like a severe and dignified criticism of the methods and speech of the present day, as they are frequently reported in our journals; and I doubt if the preparations for any spectacle which a million or more were expected to attend, could to-day be conducted, in any country, with the dignity and courtesy which attended the sæcular games in Rome nineteen hundred and fourteen years ago.

A letter from Augustus gives many directions for the conduct of the games, among which he orders the closing of the courts through the three gala days, and commands all ladies wearing mourning to lay it aside for that time. The arrangements for distributing torches, sulphur, and bitumen for purification, as well as wheat, barley, and beans, are all written down, and the confusion of too great crowds avoided by making four centres for the distribution.

The Senate resolved that a pillar of bronze and another of marble should be erected to commemorate these games, and directed that the official report of them should be inscribed on these columns. We know that the marble pillar was finished, as is proved by its inscriptions, found eighteen hundred and seventy-three years later.

The ceremonies began at the second hour of the night of May thirty-first. Altars were erected for the sacrifices to the Fates, the other offices being performed on an illuminated stage. There were no seats, and the inscription calls it "a stage without a theatre." The procession was led by Augustus in his double dignity of Emperor and *Pontifex Maximus*. He was followed by the Consuls, the Senate, the various orders of priests, the Vestal Virgins, and one hundred and ten matrons, more than twenty-five years of age, who were chosen for their exemplary lives. A chorus of twenty-seven boys and the same number of young girls was led by Horace, the writer of the beautiful song for the occasion. The first stanzas were sung while the procession moved from the Temple of Apollo to that of Jupiter Capitolinus; the middle portion on the Capitol, and the final part on the return to the Palatine, the voices being accompanied by the orchestra and trumpets of the official choir. From the Pagan point of view, how grand and inspiriting these words must have sounded, chanted in the midst of such a festival, when all Rome was at the highest pitch of enthusiastic excitement!

HORACE.

"Gracious and gentle, with thy shaft laid by, Apollo, hear the boys who pray to thee! Hear the girls, O Luna, crescented queen of the Stars!

"If Rome is your workmanship, and bands from Ilium reached the Tuscan shore, a number bidden to change, by a prosperous voyage, their household gods and city, — for whom unharmed, through burning Troy, pious Æneas, outliving his country, opened a free path, he destined to give them more than they had left, — ye gods, grant morals fair to docile youth; ye gods, to quiet old age, grant repose; grant to the people of Romulus wealth and progeny and every glory!

"And may the illustrious descendant of Anchises and Venus obtain the blessings for which he worships ye with the homage of white oxen, — still superior to his enemy, still merciful to the prostrate foe!

"Now, by sea and land the Median fears our mighty forces and the Alban axes; now the Scythians beg replies from us, though lately haughty, and the Indians too!

"Now Faith and Peace and Honour and Antique Modesty and neglected Virtue dare to return, and Plenty appears to view, rich with her o'erflowing horn!"

We quote again from Commendatore Lanciani: —

"The wealth of magnificence and beauty which the Romans beheld on the morning of June 3, 17 B.C., we can see as in a dream, but it baffles description. Imagine the group of fifty-four young patricians clad in snow-white tunics, crowned with flowers, and waving branches of laurel, led by Horace down the Vicus Apollinis — the street which led from the Summa Sacra Via to the house of Augustus on the Palatine — and the Sacra Via, singing the praises of the immortal gods, —

'Quibus septem placuere colles!'

During those days and nights Augustus gave evidence of a truly remarkable strength of mind and body, never missing a ceremony, and himself performing the sacrifices. Agrippa showed less power of endurance than his friend and master. He appeared only in the daytime, helping the Emperor in addressing supplications to the gods, and in immolating the victims."

Some of the less ancient games, unaccompanied by cruelties, were merry and amusing; but in later days there was an element of indecency and lasciviousness in their celebration,

such as characterised the life of Rome at the height of its wealth and luxuriousness. The *Floralia* — said to have been established in obedience to a command of the Sibylline Books, and first celebrated in April, 238 B. C. — had for its object the propitiation of the goddess Flora, to whom the people prayed for a blessing on the blossoms. After an unfruitful year the Floralia was attended with great zeal; its chief entertainments were given on the stage of the theatre, and were accompanied by feasting and excessive drinking. A century after their institution the Floralia were celebrated with extreme magnificence and licentious liberty; the dancing girls of Flora appeared without drapery, and the words and postures in the mimes were even more indelicate than in the dances. The grave Cato, when consul, is said to have left the theatre before the dancers entered, that there might be no restraint upon the exhibitions.

Games in honour of Cybele — whose mysterious and revolting worship was introduced at Rome 205 B. C., in obedience to a command in the Sibylline Books — were called the Megalesia, and were celebrated with great pomp, beginning on April fourth. On the day when the statue of this Phrygian goddess, brought from Pessinus, arrived in Rome, there was a splendid procession, a banquet, and games, and many costly gifts were presented to the new deity, on the Capitol. But the Megalesia were not regularly celebrated until 191 B. C., when the Temple of Cybele was completed and dedicated. The wealthy Romans devoted the six days of this festival to feasts and rejoicings, and carried the extravagance of their tables to such an extreme that an edict was made by the Senate in 161 B. C. forbidding an expenditure beyond a cer-

CYBELE.

tain fixed sum. The Megalesian games were entirely scenic, and were at first held before the temple of the goddess, but later they were presented in the theatres also. No slaves were permitted to witness these plays, and the patricians attended them in magnificent attire. Cicero describes them as pure, religious, and solemn.

In the half-century preceding the Christian era, when the cost of the Megalesia frequently amounted to one hundred thousand sesterces, when economically given, and it devolved upon the prætor to pay this sum, it became difficult to find men who would accept the office, and Constantine was forced to discipline those who were refractory on this point: if a prætor-elect died before coming into office, his heirs were obliged to pay the cost of the games!

Wild beasts were first introduced into the Circus for effect, to make a variety and an interesting feature. This did not long content the people, who hungered for more excitement and demanded that the beasts should be matched against each other, or should be fought by men. Such exhibitions first occurred in 186 B. C., and were so popular that soon no important Roman game could be celebrated without them; and so fierce did they become that Julius Cæsar found it necessary to surround the arena with a ditch to protect the spectators from the chance of the beasts rushing into their midst. The numbers of beasts reported as killed in the games is almost unbelievable, and one wonders where and how they were obtained. In 55 B. C. five hundred lions, four hundred and ten panthers and leopards, and eighteen elephants were despatched in five days. Caligula, in honour of Drusilla, had five hundred bears slaughtered in a day. Julius Cæsar turned four hundred lions into the arena at one time, and during the games celebrated on Trajan's return from Dacia eleven thousand wild beasts were killed.

What can be said of deities who desired such scenes as those of the circus and amphitheatre to be enacted in their

honour? One thing is very apparent, no bond of sentiment existed between the Roman and his gods; the religious account was purely that of debt and credit. The gods desired that their dignity and importance should be increased by every possible circumstance which would seem to exalt their importance. Sacrifices of all kinds, libations, hymns, and dances, theatres, circuses, with all their horrors, multitudes of altars, decorated with flowers and foliage and heaped with fruits, cakes, and spices, as well as more permanent gifts, were believed to afford pleasure to the Celestials, who, in return, would vouchsafe health, prosperity, and a variety of other blessings to their generous votaries. Plautus concisely said, "He who has made the gods propitious gains large profits." The gods were feared, not loved, and nothing existed with the Romans that we should recognise as a religious spirit. And yet there were divinities who were supposed to be gratified by the exercise of certain moral qualities. Vesta honoured purity; the Lares were propitious to domestic virtues; Fides smiled upon those who maintained good faith in their dealings with others; and Juno was the guardian of wise and devoted mothers, — but in the prominence given to the more important deities these were lost sight of, and even these required libations, honours, and gifts to secure and retain their favour; and upon the smallest omission of their accustomed dues they took revenge upon their worshippers.

The birth of children was of the utmost importance in Pagan Rome; not only for the reasons which make it of consequence in other times and countries, but especially because Romans, even those of exalted position, did not enjoy the full dignity and privilege of citizenship until after they were fathers; not until then was a man the priest of the domestic hearth, and the absolute ruler of wife, child, and slaves. His power over his children extended to that of life and death; when he looked upon the new-born babe, as it was laid at his feet, he decided whether to acknowledge

it or not; if he raised it from the ground it was well with it, but if he turned away, the child was an outcast and must be left to die in some public place, unless some other man should choose to rear it as a slave. Fatherhood not only added to a man's political status, but it increased his rights in the inheritance of property, and the expression, *auctus filio*, — augmented by a son, — was pregnant with meaning.

The birth of a son was a joyful event; the house was decorated with flowers and vines, and if the family were in mourning it was laid aside. The ceremony of purification was held on the eighth day for girls, and a day later for boys. This was not only a religious, but a family festival as well, and when the relatives were assembled the oldest woman among them wished the child good luck in the name of all. A near female relative then lifted the babe from the cradle and with her middle finger rubbed the forehead and lips of the infant with saliva and struck it lightly with both hands. The child was also sprinkled with water, an olive bough being used as a sprinkler; the water was sometimes drawn from a spring by a priestess, and when these ceremonies were fulfilled the child's name was inscribed on the public register. A Roman, whether rich or poor, religiously observed the anniversary of his birth; he presented gifts to the domestic gods and was surrounded by his relatives; a white robe was the dress most proper to the day, but if too poor to have such a garment the man must be perfectly clean in person and clothing, and from this custom arose the saying that a man who was attentive to his dress acted as if every day were his birthday. Gifts were exchanged on birthdays, and the neglect of this custom was a legitimate cause for displeasure. These observances were those of rich and poor alike. Even the Emperor gave and received birthday presents, and his birthday was a national fête.

There was a strong bond between a man and the nurse who reared him. It was not unusual for such a woman to

inherit, from her foster-son, a home and all that she required for comfort in it; on the other hand, the nurse was a second mother, sometimes more faithful than the real parent. It was Nero's nurse who saved his corpse from being thrown down the accursed steps of the Aventine, and performed the last rites of respect for him.

Two forms of marriage existed in Pagan Rome, civil and religious. It has been difficult for the students of these subjects to assure themselves of the order of the religious marriage ceremonies, as no ancient writer has given it, but as nearly as can be ascertained it was as follows. The marriage having been arranged, the betrothal took place and the marriage contract was signed in the presence of friends. At some periods — certainly under the Empire — the bridegroom put a ring on the marriage finger of his betrothed as a pledge of fidelity. The length of time between this ceremony and the marriage was much varied, as in the last years of the Republic children were betrothed when still quite young.

Great care was exercised in the selection of the wedding day, as so many days were of evil omen for a marriage, and as the wife had religious duties to perform on the day after the wedding it was necessary to select a time when two auspicious days came together. No marriage was celebrated in February, the month of the *Lemuralia*, a festival for departed souls; May was an inauspicious month for marriage, and many days in other months were of evil omen for this ceremony, on account of the festivals which occurred on them. Widows could marry on days which a maiden would shun, and in any case, the auspices were consulted on this important matter.

The chosen day having arrived, the bride was dressed in a long white robe — a symbol of purity — trimmed with a purple fringe or ribands. A girdle — a symbol of chastity — held the robe in place and was loosened at evening by

the bridegroom. The hair being parted with a spear which had been fixed in the body of a gladiator lying dead on the arena, the toilet was completed by a veil and shoes of a brilliant yellow colour.

The religious ceremony began with the sacrifice of a sheep, the gall of which was carefully thrown far away, denoting that there should be no bitterness between the married pair. The skin of the sheep was spread over an ox-yoke on which the betrothed sat with covered heads. A solemn prayer was then pronounced and followed by a second sacrifice, after which the priest gave to the couple a sacred cake to eat, and completed the ceremony by joining their hands. Great care was taken to pay due honour to the god Pilumnus, who especially protected husbands, and to Picumnus, the guardian of religious marriages, while the gods who are hostile to marriage — Ceres, Apollo, and Bacchus — were propitiated by wine, honey, burning incense, and other gifts, through fear of their curses.

At evening the bride was taken from her mother, or from the relative who had given her away, with seeming violence, as a symbol of the seizure of the Sabine women. She was then conducted to the house of her husband, a cake prepared by the Vestal Virgins being carried before her; three boys dressed in purple-bordered togas, and sons of living parents, attended her; one of them walked before the bride, carrying a torch of white pine to drive away evil spirits; the others walked on each side of her, she carrying a distaff and a spindle with wool. A fourth boy bore a covered vase in which were articles belonging to the bride and play-things for children. This little procession was followed by another composed of the friends of both bride and bridegroom.

The husband's house was decked with garlands and flowers, and upon her arrival the bride wound the door-posts with wool and anointed them with lard or wolf's-fat. She

was lifted over the threshold — by men who had been but once married — in order that she should not stumble, which would have been an omen of dire evil. Her husband received her and presented her with fire and water, which she was obliged to touch, while in answer to his demand, "Who art thou?" she replied, "Where thou art Caius, I am Caia." The bridal pair then offer a sacrifice to the gods of the hearth, and breaking the sacred cake eat it together; from that moment the gods and ancestors of the husband became those of the wife. She was next seated on a sheepskin and the keys of the house were delivered to her, and her husband gave her a silver plate on which were some gold-pieces. He also threw nuts to the boys denoting that he gave up his youthful games, as the bride has already done by devoting her dolls to Venus.

A nuptial feast given by the husband concluded the more public ceremonies, and it is not certain whether the *talassio*, or wedding hymn, was sung during this supper or while the procession of the bride was moving, although many considerations favour the latter conclusion. The feast ended, the guests were presented with cakes mixed with sweet wine and baked with laurel-leaves, which were taken away as souvenirs of the wedding. The bride was attended to the *lectus genialis*, or bridal bed, by matrons who had been but once married; this bed, which was in the atrium of the house, was adorned with flowers, and as the luxury of the Romans increased it was most elaborate and magnificent. After the other guests had gone away, a number of young maidens frequently remained to sing songs before the door of the bridal chamber.

On the following day the wife performed certain religious ceremonies, probably sacrificing to the domestic deities of her new home. The husband sometimes gave a second feast to celebrate his wife's assumption of the management of his house. The wife of a religious marriage held a position of

much consideration in her husband's house, although he had the power of life and death over her, and her dowry became his property. But this marriage was a sacred relation, and the mother reigned beside the father; she sacrificed to the Penates as did he, and if he were a priest, she became a priestess; such a wife was entitled to wear the *stola*, or long robe with a flounce, — a privilege denied to all women of questionable morals. In the early days, no religious marriage could be celebrated in Rome unless the parties to it were of equal rank; no mixed marriages could be thus conducted until after the laws of the Twelve Tables were made about 450 B. C. when plebeian marriages were raised to the standard of patrician alliances, and, in 444, marriages between the two classes were legalised. Gradually, as morality died out among the Romans, the institution of marriage suffered great dishonour, and Augustus felt it to be a primal duty to restore its sanctity. Of this period Duruy says: —

"In the tempest which for a century past had raged in the Republic, not only institutions had perished, but a shameless cynicism had ruined private morals. In many Roman houses there were no longer fathers, sons, wives, in the true sense. Marriage had become an inconvenience, and was abandoned; and to escape its obligations men lived in celibacy, or, what was still worse, disgraced the marriage tie by yearly divorces. Matrons, it was said, reckoned the years by their husbands, and not by the consuls. Such a state of morals endangered not only the family, but society itself. In order to compel the class of citizens to recruit itself from within, and not from the foul sink of slavery, Augustus resumed and developed the measures of Cæsar; in the year 18 B. C. he proposed the *Lex Julia de maritandis ordinibus*. The evil was so deeply rooted and widespread that those very Romans who had no strength left to defend their liberty found enough to shield their vices; the *comitia* with one voice rejected the proposal, and the Emperor had to wait twenty years before he could secure its acceptance. Five years later, braving the violent outcries which it raised, and a threatened tumult of knights in the open theatre, he reproduced the measure in a law called *Pappia-Poppæa*, which

formed a new code, so to speak, wherein were regulated not only marriage, but divorce, dowry, deeds of gift between husband and wife, inheritances, legacies, etc."

This law divided the people into two classes only, — those who had children and those who had not. It gave privileges to the former class, and diminished those of men who had not married far more than of those, who, having married, were childless. Legacy-hunting had prevailed to an alarming extent; and Augustus abolished the right of an unmarried man to legacies from a foreigner, while the childless married man could inherit but half as much as the father of children, and what was taken from childless men was given to fathers, or, in certain cases, to the public treasury. Was it not in reference to these laws that Horace wrote, "Now Faith and Peace and Honour and Antique Modesty and neglected Virtue dare to return"?

In the later days of the Empire the money consideration entered so largely into the marriage question that one is reminded, in reading of it, of much that we hear in our own day. Some fathers complained thus: "You see me with a grown girl on my hands, without a dowry, whom I cannot portion off to any one." Horace says: "Queen Money, when she gives a spouse with an ample dowry, seems to give at the same time beauty, nobility, friends, and conjugal fidelity." Saint Jerome condemned mercenary marriages in most forcible terms.

In the early days of the Republic the divorce of those who had been united by the religious ceremony was unknown; and although the civil marriage was more easily broken, this divorce occurred but rarely during a long period, and the condition of society which later forced the matrons to dedicate a temple to modesty, into which a woman who had made the betrothal sacrifices more than once could not enter, did not exist until some centuries after Rome was a city of great importance. And yet, as marriage was considered a religious

and civil duty, in order to give descendants to ancestors who should perpetuate the family worship and citizens to the state, freedom from a barren marriage seemed a necessity. The Roman expression for a family that had disappeared was "an extinguished hearth," and was full of religious terror in the ears of a pagan. But even divorce on account of barrenness was regarded with serious disfavour; and when, in 233 B. C., Carvilius Ruga put away his barren wife, he aroused public indignation, although he swore to the censors that he had no other motive than that of becoming a father to those who would serve the gods and the state. This is but the second record of a divorce in Rome when it was more than five centuries old. Saint Jerome was most emphatic in his opinion that there could be but one husband or one wife living at the same time; and that whatever had been the fault or unworthiness which had broken up the first marriage, to replace the first husband or wife with another — while the first still lived — was a deadly sin. Upon all subjects connected with marriage Saint Jerome wrote most forcibly, and before leaving its consideration it is interesting to read the following, which is a plea for virginity, while it draws a picture of Roman life in his time: —

"Do you think there is no difference between one who spends her time in fastings, and humbles herself night and day in prayer, — and her who must prepare her face for the coming of her husband, ornament herself, and put on airs of fascination? The first veils her beauty and the graces which she despises; the other paints herself before a mirror, to make herself more fair than God has made her. . . . Expenses follow without end, her time is spent in making up her accounts, her purse always open in her hand. Here there is a troop of cooks, their garments girded like soldiers for the battle, hashing and steaming. Then the women spinning and babbling. Anon comes the husband, followed by his friends. The wife flies about like a swallow from one end of the house to the other, to see that all is right, the beds made, the marble floors shining, flowers in the vases, the dinner prepared.

Is there in all that, I ask, a thought of God? Are these happy homes? No, the fear of God is absent there, where the drum is sounded, the lyre struck, where the flute breathes out and the cymbals clash. Then the parasite abandons shame and glories in it, if he amuses the host who has invited him. The victims of debauch have their place at these feasts; they appear half naked in transparent garments which unclean eyes see through. What part is there for the wife in these orgies? She must learn to take pleasure in such scenes, or else to bring discord into her house."

Funeral ceremonies were observed with great care, and in the cases of famous and wealthy men the rites were impressive and magnificent. When a man was known to be dying, the nearest relative who could be present removed the ring from the finger of the dying man, attempted to receive the last breath in his own mouth, and, after closing the eyes and lips of the departed, bade him farewell in a loud voice. Notice of the death was at once sent to the Temple of Venus Libitina — the goddess of corpses — where the registry of deaths was kept and undertakers were in constant attendance, one of whom was sent to anoint and prepare the body for burial. Attired in its ceremonial robes, with a coin in the mouth to pay the ferryman on the Styx, it was laid on a funeral couch in the atrium of the dwelling, the feet being towards the door. A cypress or pine-tree was placed before the entrance, not only as an emblem of death, but also to warn priests and others against the pollution of entering. The funeral couch was frequently dressed with flowers, and if the dead man had worn a crown in his life it was now put upon his head.

At first Roman funerals occurred in the night, but later, the poor only were then buried, and those who could afford a funeral appointed it for the day, usually the eighth after death. All the arrangements were made by a master of ceremonies, who, together with his attendants, was dressed in black. The procession was led by musicians, playing sad

strains; the hired female mourners followed, chanting dirges, shrieking, beating their breasts, and tearing their hair: then came the dancers, dressed like satyrs, and followed by actors, one of whom mimicked the looks, the characteristic speech, and the peculiarities of the deceased. These persons, none of whom were of his family, were followed by the slaves to whom he had given liberty, wearing the *pileati*, or cap worn by freedmen. These were sometimes in great numbers, and instances occurred in which a man freed all his slaves that they might increase the pomp of his funeral.

After the freedmen were carried the numerous images of the deceased, and those of his ancestors, together with the rewards for bravery which he had received. Next came the body on the funeral couch, frequently borne by the nearest relatives of the deceased or by his freedmen, the relatives, dressed in mourning, coming after. Sons of the dead man walked with uncovered heads, and the daughters, without their veils, with dishevelled hair, manifested the most pronounced grief.

The procession passed to the Forum, and in the case of the funeral of a distinguished man or woman it halted before the *rostra*, while a friend or admirer of the dead pronounced a funeral oration, according to a most ancient custom.

From the Forum the solemn train moved on to some spot outside the walls, no other than a Vestal being interred within the city. During the first century of Rome it was customary to bury the dead, but, towards the end of the Republic and under the Empire, cremation was in general usage and so continued until it was gradually given up in the fourth century of the Christian era. After the body was laid upon the pyre, perfumes, oils, ornaments, and various tokens of respect and affection were thrown upon it, while the nearest relative of the deceased, with averted face, applied a torch to the pile. When the body was consumed, wine was used to extinguish the fire, and the few charred

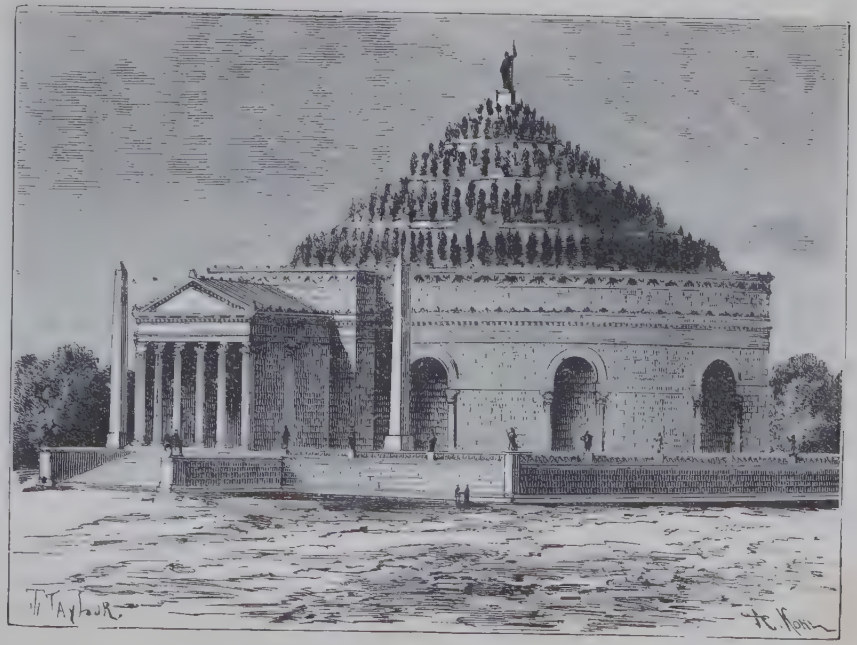
bones and ashes which could be gathered up were placed in an urn, after being sprinkled with wine and milk, dried with a linen cloth, and bathed with the choicest perfumes. The urn was then placed in a niche of the family tomb, often called a columbarium, from its resemblance to a dovecote.

After Augustus died his body was taken to the Palatine, and by a fiction was said to lie in state seven days on a splendid bed, draped in purple and much ornamented in gold and ivory. The truth was that the body of the Emperor was hidden; but a lay figure, clothed in the triumphal robe, surrounded by beautiful slaves who made a pretence of driving the flies from the august face, received the honours which were deemed suitable to the illustrious dead. The most distinguished men and women of Rome, dressed in deep mourning, — the matrons in white robes with no ornaments, — sat around the funeral couch. When, on the eighth day, the procession was formed, forty Prætorian guards bore the couch and the Emperor to the Forum. They were preceded by a statue of Victory, while two statues of Augustus followed the goddess, — one was of silver and placed on a chariot, while the other, of gold, was mounted on a scaffold and so arranged as to receive divine honours. Next came the ancestral busts and effigies, a long line of ancestors, from which Julius Cæsar was omitted, as, being a deity, he could not be associated with mortals. The busts of the illustrious Romans from the time of Romulus also made a part of the pageant, as well as banners or scrolls, on which the names of the nations vanquished by Augustus, and the titles of the laws he had promulgated, were inscribed. An immense throng of the most honourable and famous citizens of Imperial Rome closed the procession, and great numbers of youths of both sexes sang hymns in praise of the great Emperor. The Senators had replaced their gold rings with those of iron, and many minor details were intended to convey an appreciation of the reverence due the imperious Cæsar.

The funeral orations were pronounced by Tiberius and Drusus, and from the Forum to the funeral pile the body was borne on the shoulders of the senators. In passing through the city the corpse was buried beneath the perfumes, frankincense, fragrant herbs, and many tokens of appreciation of the military glory which Augustus had won for Rome. The moment having arrived for the cremation, which occurred in the enclosure of the Mausoleum of Augustus, the centurions lighted the fire which was to burn the vast pile; and with the first blaze an eagle soared from above the dead body and rapidly rose towards heaven, thus symbolising the apotheosis of the deity being set free from earth by the purifying flames. Five long days Livia and the most prominent Senators, all robed in white, watched the funeral pyre, and did not esteem their duty done until the ashes were collected and placed in the Mausoleum, where the urns of Marcellus and Octavia had already been deposited.

A funeral was followed by the purification of the house where the death had occurred, and there were nine so-called funeral days, at the end of which a simple meal was placed beside the tomb with becoming solemnities; of this food the Manes were supposed to eat. After the ceremonial purification of the house and family of the deceased a banquet was given in his honour, but it is not known on which of the nine funeral days this occurred. When a very exalted person died, a crier was sent out with a notice of the time of the funeral, and an invitation for the whole city to attend. It was on such occasions that gladiatorial and other games occurred, the ceremonies being concluded with a magnificent banquet to the distinguished citizens and a distribution of food to the poor.

So much was a decent burial valued, and so distinctly was it believed to be the right of every human being, that any one who by chance saw an unburied corpse and did not throw at least three handfuls of earth upon it, was considered



TOMB OF AUGUSTUS RESTORED.

an impious being. If a relative died away from home, or was lost at sea, the family raised a tomb in his honour, and his nearest heir, in order to free himself and his dead kinsman from pollution, sacrificed an animal to his memory each year.

Games and feasts were also given on the anniversaries of funerals; these were sometimes provided for in the will of the deceased, and the guests at such banquets were dressed in white. Mourning was carefully worn, — a year by women and a few days only by men, during which they cut neither beard nor hair, and wore no ornaments. Black was the colour for the mourning of both sexes under the Republic, but under the Empire mourning women wore white. During the season of mourning for an emperor or for a public calamity, the courts and all places of business were closed; even soldiers were off duty, while senators wore neither their ornaments nor the broad purple stripe on their garments, and the magistrates laid aside the insignia of their office.

In studying the religion of pagan Rome, very serious consideration should be given to its faith in auguries and divination. The frequent earthquakes and violent thunderstorms of Italy were well calculated to terrify those who understood nothing of Nature and her laws, and the belief that these tremendous forces were wielded as a punishment to men was most natural. This belief was the very groundwork of a religious terror, — which terror legitimately suggested the endeavour to propitiate the terrible powers behind these manifestations; and, consequent upon this reasoning, the art of reading auguries and discerning the means by which calamities could be averted came to be the one reliance for protection and safety.

The nobles and priests, who alone knew anything of occult science, wielded an enormous power. They did not propose to lessen it, and the people were weighted down with a system of superstition which extended to every detail

of existence. The Roman legends teach that Numa was designated as king by the gods, in answer to the incantations of the augur; and this divinely appointed sovereign, directed by Egeria, arranged the religious ceremonies of his people, from their most important to their minutest detail, and, during his reign of forty-three years, Rome was at peace and the gates of the Temple of the God of War were always closed.

The Romans, however, soon felt the need of a deity who was not controlled by immutable laws; and the goddess Fortuna came to be devoutly worshipped as having power to bestow liberty and wealth on those who could win her favour. She became the favourite divinity of slaves and common people, and Plutarch says, "When she entered Rome, she folded her wings, thus signifying that she wished to remain there;" and there still we may well believe that she has her votaries, but can she not count them in every nation?

The offices of this goddess being of the loftier and more impalpable order, other deities were needed whose attention should be given to more commonplace affairs. Thus Bona Dea provided the necessities of life, while gods of the woods and fields protected the crops and the small domestic animals. Rumina watched over the young cattle; Vertumnus and Pomona ripened the fruit; and a numerous train of similar deities blessed or cursed whatever came under their care. Another company of gods and goddesses had power over the personal needs of men, during every moment of existence; the consciousness of being always in the society of the gods, which the Romans apparently had, was the natural result of such a faith as theirs.

The Manes, or the belief in them, was a potent influence in pagan life, since the spirits of the dead were believed to be powerful for good or evil to those with whom they were associated: they were divided into two classes, good Manes and wicked Larvæ. The Manes, having been purified by proper funeral ceremonies, protected their relatives and inspired them with wisdom. There was, however, a debt and credit account with these ghostly beings, who acknowledged faithful attention to ancestor-worship by being near those whom they had loved in life to bless them; but were the worship neglected, the spirits were themselves unhappy, and caused misfortune and misery to follow their unfaithful descendants. In the early days of Manes-worship the funeral rites were barbarous, as it was believed that blood was acceptable to them. On the death of a great hero or a sovereign, his war-horse, the captives he had taken, his slaves, and sometimes his wife were sacrificed to propitiate his Manes; and in the same idea of the acceptability of blood, the combats of gladiators originated and made a part of the strictly religious funeral ceremonies.

The annual sacrifices at the tomb of an ancestor were less revolting, as the Manes were then satisfied with flowers,

fruits, cakes, honey, and the blood of some lesser animal. The Manes were believed to assist at these functions and to partake of the offerings, as is frequently represented in ancient sculptures and paintings. When we consider the depth of pagan superstition, it is not strange that the theft of the provisions from the tombs should have been deemed by the pious the work of the Manes, neither can we wonder at the enthusiasm with which this worship was maintained. Even now, many Italians believe that the omission of a visit to the family graves, and the offering of flowers and prayers on All Saints' Day, will be followed by bad luck throughout the year.

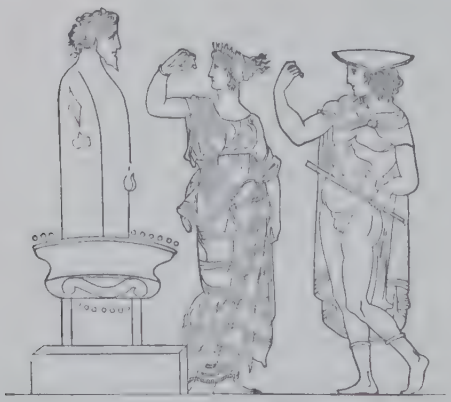
A Roman, when he passed a tomb, made the same reverential gesture that he made before the statue of a god, saying, "Sleep in peace," or "Grant me good fortune," and if a family sold the land containing the family burying-place, the right to visit it for the performance of the sacred rites continued to be theirs by law. Even in the time of Cicero, when the old piety was dying out, he wrote, "Render to the Manes what is their due, and forget not that they are divine beings; for our ancestors would that those who had finished this life should be numbered with the gods."

GESTURE OF ADORATION.

On the last day of the Festival of the Dead, a family feast was held, at which all the relatives were gathered to discuss, not so much the food and wines, as the deeds and fame of their ancestors, and to worship the family Lares. The importance, and even necessity, that some one should perform these ceremonies for the peace of the dead, had doubtless much to do with the frequent adoption of children by the Romans, as by

this means the childless man provided for the worship of his spirit. Under the Empire funeral colleges supplied this pressing need.

It was believed that the Larvæ, or evil spirits, revenged themselves for the insufficient observance of their funeral



GESTURE OF ADORATION.

ceremonies by making night hideous with phantoms, by inspiring horrible visions and disturbing dreams, and great sacrifices were frequently made in order to propitiate them. But on occasions some brave man fought the Larva and drove it away.

In spite of the accumulated horrors in the ceremonials of the pagan religion, a study of it reveals some pleasing, even poetical, features in its worship. The family worship at the hearth and at the ancestral tomb; the worship of the sacred groves, where one or more trees were believed to be the habitation of gods; offerings to serpents and birds, etc., have a vastly different element in them from that in the rites we have observed. Every sound in Nature had its meaning for good or evil; the sharp taps of the woodpecker were believed

to be the voice of a sylvan god, and the Augurs could understand what he was saying!

But nowhere does one find the sentiment of love; this was a religion of fear, and added to the fear of the gods was the constant fear of the evil eye, which still obtains in Italy; and it would seem that with the momentary danger of falling under a spell, or encountering an evil omen, no sensitive Roman — if any such existed — could have lived to any considerable age. But fortunately, the god Fascinum, whose worship was conducted by the Vestals, was able to avert the consequences of envy, hatred, malice, and evil fortune, for a consideration suited to the purse of the applicant for aid. Then, too, if one would but spit in his right shoe before putting it on, and carefully observe other equally innocent preventives, they would go a long way towards preserving his body and his reason! Even Cato the Elder, who died in 149 B.C., and was a self-possessed, strong-minded man, left such grossly superstitious recipes for the cures of bodily ills and other misfortunes that they would seem better suited to be addressed to absolute savages than to sane Romans.

ADORATION BEFORE A TOMB.

The element of fear in this religion was deep and far-reaching, and in his intercourse with the gods no man was allowed a spontaneous expression of emotion. The ritual was exact and must be followed; the omission of a word, or the introduction of one, was believed to vitiate the entire ceremony; every consul and priest carefully read his formula, and the early rituals were followed long after no word of their language was understood. This religious slavery was productive of perfect obedience in other directions, and

respect for religious law led to respect for political demands; and the influence of those divinities which may be called the Gods of Peace was potent in establishing and maintaining purity of life among the most ancient Romans.

The gods of the hearth and the Manes made for family concord and domestic virtues, as the goddess of the national fire raised purity to exalted honour and respect; good faith was maintained through fear of Fides, etc., — all these deities being characterised by a gravity which was counterpoised by the merry, laughing divinities of wood and field who smiled upon the overflow of cheerfulness, recognising its value and its virtue.

A striking feature of the early Roman priesthood is the fact that priests were not set aside for that vocation only; they remained magistrates and senators, and were active in all matters of common interest: a few only, as the interpreter of the Sibylline Books and the Flamen of Jupiter, were exceptions to this rule, and when the pontiff and augurs endeavoured to be freed from the taxes common to the laity, the privilege was denied them; they were subject to the same law that governed other Romans. Even the augurs were under control and could not consult the auspices without the consent of the magistrates, and could only reveal what they had learned by permission from the Senate.

Cicero wrote thus: "Our ancestors were never wiser or better inspired by the gods than when they settled that the same persons should preside over religion and the government of the Republic. By this means magistrates and pontiffs unite to save the state." And Duruy says: "If then religion and its ministers were, at Rome, closely connected with political matters, it was not by ruling them, but in remaining subordinate to them. This dependence lasted as long as pagan Rome; thence came her superiority in government and her inferiority in art and poetry, which in Greece were born in the precincts of the temples."

During the later years of the Regal Period, 616–509 B. C., important religious innovations were introduced. On the Tarpeian, temples were dedicated to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva; Ceres, Diana, Apollo, Mercury, Vulcan, and Venus also claimed the worship of the Romans, one following another at longer or shorter intervals. The Sibyl of Cumæ, who sold the Books to Tarquinius Superbus, was a priestess of Apollo; and in time the altar of that god was raised upon the Capitol. With the Greek influence in religion was associated the Greek feeling for art, and the fitness of the dwellings of the gods assumed a new importance.

But the most potent result of the changes under Tarquin the Elder was the increased consequence of the science of augury. The augurs were sometimes educated in their mysteries in Etruria, and being selected from the noblest families only, — the families who supplied the state with magistrates and senators, — it was but a legitimate result that an augur should be a faithful priest, and at the same time so wise a politician that he would find only such auspices in the stars as would tend to the prosperity of Rome; in truth, there was a mental reservation in the declaration of their discoveries that often made for the worldly rather than the spiritual advantage of Rome. But under this religion of signs and omens the people became most devout, and Polybius declared this unquestioning faith to have been one of the causes of Rome's greatness.

Anything which interrupted the usual order of religious observances was of vital importance, as when, on account of some privilege which had been taken from them, the flute-players left Rome and went to Tibur, and in spite of an order from the Senate refused to return. Upon this it was decided to use strategy in order that the accustomed ceremonies should not be interrupted. Accordingly, the citizens of Tibur invited the flute-players to a feast, and made them drunk; in this condition they were carried to Rome and left in the

Forum, and when they regained their senses they found themselves surrounded by the people. Not only was their privilege restored, but a feast of three days was made in their honour and celebrated with a gaiety so mad as to be unusual even for the Romans of the third century B. C.

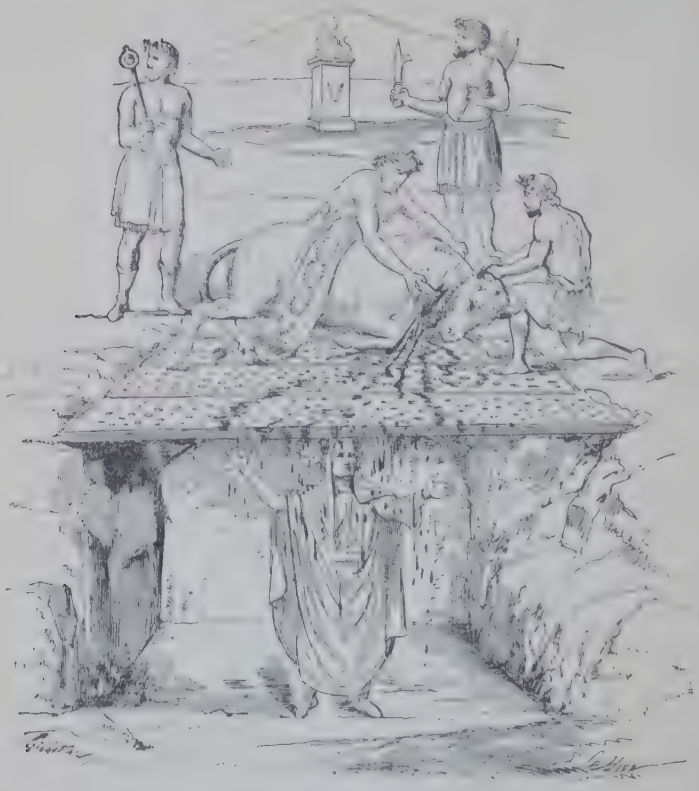
We are not surprised to learn that the will of the gods, or the interpretation of it as given to the Romans by the augurs, frequently occasioned great disappointments; and it appears but logical that gradually many Romans became sceptics, and the augurs and other priests found it wise to relax the intense severity of the religious observances of earlier days. About 250 B. C. there were those who avowed the belief that although the gods might exist, they did not trouble themselves about men, and many ancient rites were abandoned, while certain sacrifices were left to slaves.

Gradually the worship of Apollo as the god of health was much in vogue with the Romans, and in 429 B. C. a temple was built in his honour, on account of a pestilence which desolated the city; but this, being dedicated to a foreign deity, was placed outside the walls, as that of Æsculapius was built on an island in the Tiber, after the serpent of the god had been brought from Epidaurus. Plainly as these facts show the decay of the earlier faith, and much as the legends connected with the introduction of these strange gods astonish us by the amount of credulity which they indicate on the part of the Romans, they were destined to sound still greater depths of religious folly and disintegration.

In 203 B. C., by command of the Sibylline Books, the Phrygian goddess Cybele was brought from Pessinus to disgrace Rome with the orgies of her service, so strangely out of keeping with the dignified Roman religion while it retained its integrity. No Roman would submit to such mutilation as was demanded of the priests of Cybele, and the foreign Galli served the goddess even in Rome. Lucretius described the honours paid Cybele, omitting the most shameful details:

"The Greek poets when they sing of the earth represent her seated in a chariot drawn by two lions, her brows girt with a mural crown. . . . Mutilated priests accompany her; . . . drums resound under their hands; cymbals and trumpets mingle their strident tones with the intoxicating harmonies of the Phrygian flute. . . . Javelins they bear, the weapons of their fury, and the mute image of the goddess traverses the great city without manifesting her silent beneficence. Silver and bronze coins and flowers strew the route by which the procession moves. The goddess and her priests are, as it were, enveloped in a cloud of roses. Then a troop of armed men with crested heads dance, leaping in time to the music, while the blood runs from the wounds they give each other."

The Romans were enamoured of Oriental religions, which brought in their train noisy, theatrical fêtes, flagellations, incantations, expiatory purifications, and a great variety of revels, among which were obscene dances and songs. Blood was made so familiar in the sacrifices to Cybele that her votaries lost the natural sensitiveness to its sight and contact. One of these horrors was called the *Taurobolium*, in which a neophyte, richly dressed, with flowers and a golden wreath on his head, stood beneath a perforated platform on which was a bull, decorated with garlands, his horns being gilded. Directly over the neophyte the bull was slain, and his blood ran down over the young enthusiast, filling his ears and eyes, and even his mouth, and dripping over his entire person, he striving earnestly to prevent a drop from reaching the ground without passing over him. When the frightful creature, scarcely recognisable as a man, rejoined his friends, he was an object of envy to them, rather than of disgust. It was only by such rites that the favour of these gods could be won; an offering of a pigeon, or even of a bull in the ancient method was not acceptable to the new deities, and these, coming from different localities, so increased in number that it seemed that the gods of all the East had descended upon Rome.



THE TAUROBOLIUM.

The public ceremonies were subject to a certain pretence of restraint, and were not conducted with the extreme of indecency which characterised the secret, nocturnal worship of Bacchus. The rites of this god were absolutely indescribable in decent speech; and when the knowledge of the secret orgies of men and women, in his worship, came to the consul and through him to the Senate, an edict put an end to the

Bacchanalia, although the altars were undisturbed. This decree was made not only to prevent these special meetings, but all secret gatherings. In spite of the general forgetfulness of the older and purer religion, there were still many who cherished its teachings and observances, and from time to time striking examples of devotion to the gods of Rome came to the knowledge of the public; and there were augurs who refused, as did Paulus Æmilius, to permit any variation from the ancient rites.

The Emperor Augustus assumed the title of "The Restorer of Temples," and endeavoured to reinstate the ancient religion and ceremonies. He replaced the images of the Lares at the crossways in 8 B. C., and desired the people to assemble in spring and autumn to deck them with flowers; and to the end that this service should be perpetuated, he instituted a priesthood for its care, known as *Augustales*. By other methods he endeavoured to do away with such customs as were opposed to the simple morality of old Rome, but he came too late for this mission. The people over whom he ruled were a different people; and the passage of more than six centuries had buried, not only the men and women, generation after generation, but with each succeeding century, the old habits of thought, as of life, had been put off as a garment, and the religious customs and teachings of other peoples had been mingled with those of the Romans until they no longer followed any one system in its completeness.

The History of the Religion of Pagan Rome may be divided into three periods: in the first, the early faith was the only religion known; in the second, while the masses — the peasants and plebeians — experienced little or no change of faith, thoughtful men and those who had a broader experience of life, came to believe in little beyond themselves, and to rely upon their own powers for success in their undertakings, rather than on the aid of the deities, or on the signs

and omens of the diviners. While still encouraging the maintenance of the old forms, and the union of religious and political institutions to the end, the wisest Romans were pure sceptics.

In the third period, weary of waiting for the stern and solemn national gods to hear their prayers, the Romans turned to the Oriental deities, whose service more effectively aroused imagination and excited sensual emotion. After still other centuries of wonderful preparation had passed, the time arrived, when through persecution, and suffering of which the half cannot be realised, the Gospel of Peace came to be that of Christian Rome.

MEMORIAL OF THE SÆCULAR GAMES.

CHAPTER II.

THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION.

THE scholarly and persistent research of our century has brought to light rich stores of hidden truth, and vastly increased our knowledge of the ancient cities of the world, while the numerous excavations with their priceless revelations, and the patient study of the inscriptions, manuscripts, maps, and authors of past ages afford us such familiarity with ancient Rome as enables us to reconstruct the city as it was in the early centuries of its existence; to people it in imagination with such men and women as lived there; to understand their religion, their government, and the manners and customs of their daily life, and, in a sense, to feel quite at home in the Eternal City on her Seven Hills.

Perhaps among the vast and inestimable revelations consequent upon this delving for truth, none are more interesting than those relating to the Christian religion. None are more satisfactory than these, since they throw a softer light over certain periods than that by which they have habitually been viewed, and bear witness to a wider influence from Christianity in its earliest centuries than we have been accustomed to attribute to it.

It is a singular fact that what may be learned from manuscripts or books concerning the introduction of Christianity into Rome is found in the histories and chronicles of pagan writers. Doubtless the records by Christians were destroyed during the persecutions; doubtless there were many periods when they dared not write of what they saw and knew: and when, after the persecutions ceased, they began again to

keep their records and the official calendar was resumed, the names of the earliest converts had been lost or forgotten, as well as their deeds and experiences. Those who had known the Glabriones, the Domitillæ, and Petronilla were dead long

ROME, MISTRESS OF THE WORLD.

since, and the more recent horrors through which Christians had passed were naturally the themes of greatest interest to the tongues and pens of the survivors.

Those of us who studied our histories a half-century ago, or even in more recent years, have thought that it was only to the poor that the Gospel was preached, or, at least, that it was only in the hearts of slaves and the oppressed that its message of faith, hope, charity, and redemption found a home. But the discoveries of the last half-century, and

especially those of the more recent years, have been piling up facts in another direction, — both those before unknown and such as explain and verify others that were half known and suspected, — until we can assure ourselves that the doctrines of Christ reached the highest circles in Rome, and even made converts among those who surrounded the Emperor at a very early day.

Naturally a vast amount of information on these subjects has been found in the Christian tombs and cemeteries, as the Roman law held all burial-places inviolable, regardless of nationality or creed. The inscriptions from these sources would doubtless have afforded a satisfactory list of the names and families of the early Christians at Rome, as well as an immense amount of information concerning their lives and deaths, had all the discoveries been carefully guarded and submitted to scholars and archæologists. But, alas! from the time when Christian cemeteries were first discovered, in 1578, —which time may legitimately be named as that of the beginning of Christian archæology, — to the early decades of the present century, the destruction of treasures found in tombs and catacombs was such as might have been expected from unlettered savages rather than from men of intelligence or probity.

Even the explorers who discovered these burial-places at the cost of study and difficult labours, stole the inscriptions to transport them to museums, palaces, churches, and other edifices, with little or no attention to the amount of historical and topographical lore which they held in safe keeping. Thus it happens that many of these records, scattered as they are in all civilised countries, cannot be identified as to the particular place in which they were found. Fortunately, in the eighteenth century, Pope Benedict XIV. removed the finest tombstones discovered by Boldetti to the Vatican Library, and they are now in the Christian museum of the Lateran.

When the tomb of the Flavians was opened in 1714, beautiful frescoes were found there, and hundreds of people visited them, but in the attempts to remove these treasures they were destroyed. As it has been in Egypt in our day, so was it in Rome; the very treasures of the catacombs caused their desecration, and men searched for Roman tombs that they might steal and sell the rich objects they contained. The result is that when these places are rediscovered and examined in the present time, they are found to be in great confusion, the valuables gone, the inscriptions broken, and even the skeletons dragged from their resting-places. Rare cameos, medallions, jewels, crystal and metal works, some of exquisite quality, and many curious and costly objects, were taken from the catacombs, only to be sold by the ignorant finders for insignificant sums. I shall pursue this subject further when speaking of burial-places, and have referred to it here in order to account for the want of certain positive knowledge which undoubtedly existed in the tombs and catacombs of Rome.

One of the vexed questions of the Christian centuries has been concerning Saint Peter; was he in Rome or not? Doubtless, among all the destruction of inscriptions that has occurred, those that would have established the fact of Saint Peter's presence in Rome have been lost. As there is no Scripture proof of this fact, full liberty exists for belief or disbelief. At the same time the reasonable position in this, as in other important matters, is to give due consideration to the teaching of tradition, which most emphatically supports the belief that Saint Peter visited Rome and suffered crucifixion in the Circus of Caligula and Nero; that he was buried in a tomb near by; that his body was removed to a place of safety on the Via Appia, when Helagabalus destroyed the tombs on the Via Cornelia to enlarge the course of the circus; that it was again removed and placed in a tomb over which Constantine built his basilica;

and that his remains still rest beneath "the great dome of Michelangelo, under the canopy of Urban VIII., under the high altar of Clement VIII."

In regard to the latter question, it is recorded in the "Liber Pontificalis" that Constantine placed on the gold lid

THE APOSTLES SAINT PETER AND SAINT PAUL.

of the coffin of Saint Peter a gold cross weighing one hundred and fifty pounds, on which was inscribed these words: "Constantine, the Emperor, and Helena, the Empress, have richly decorated this royal crypt and the basilica which shelters it."

One of the most interesting events that have ever occurred in Rome in connection with the verification of such records as the above happened in the spring of 1594, while Giacomo della Porta was superintending some changes in S. Peter's,

above the Confession and removing certain foundations near it.

The ground gave way; and through the opening the architect saw what had been hidden from mortal view since the days of Pope Sergius II., 844–847 A. D., — the grave of Saint Peter, and lying upon it, the golden cross of Constantine and Helena. Pope Clement VIII., being at once informed of what had occurred, hastened, with three cardinals, to S. Peter's and descended to the Confession. Della Porta had lowered a torch into the hollow space which the breaking away of the ground had disclosed, and by this light the Pope, and all who were there present, could see the cross and read the names of the Emperor and his mother. The effect upon the Pope was so great that he felt it to be unwise to permit this most sacred spot to be exposed to view, and it was immediately closed. Torrigio, who was present on this memorable occasion, made a written deposition concerning it, which is fully supported by the present appearance of the place. Through the "Cataract" below the altar, the materials with which the opening was closed can still be seen, to which we have the testimony of Commendatore Lanciani and other reliable authorities.

I shall later speak of the persecutions in the Circus of Nero, which was the scene of the horrible cruelties in 65 A. D.; and it is believed that, two years later, Saint Peter was crucified on the centre of the *spina* of this circus, where, for many centuries, the "Chapel of the Crucifixion" stood; and at the time of the martyrdom of the saint, the obelisk now in the Piazza of S. Peter — as already mentioned — stood on the same *spina*.

The claim that Saint Peter was in Rome has the full support of Döllinger in his "First Age of Christianity," and in a more recent book, "Apostolic Fathers," by Bishop Lightfoot, published in 1885. Döllinger is recognised as an authority on the subjects of which he treats. Many other

authors from the time of Ignatius — who himself writes to the Romans, "I do not command you like Peter and Paul; they were apostles" — to the present, have carefully studied and weighed the evidence for and against, and have believed that the traditions concerning the life and death of Saint Peter in Rome are founded in absolute truth. Eusebius and Clement of Rome maintained that the Epistle of Saint Peter was written in the Eternal City, and Irenæus says: "After Peter and Paul had founded the Roman church and set it in order, they gave over the episcopate to Linus."

The monumental testimony to the presence of Saint Peter in Rome is overwhelming. Commendatore Lanciani asks how the primitive church could have been ignorant of the place and manner of the death of this great apostle, and gives his opinion "from a strictly archæological point of view, avoiding questions which pertain, or are supposed to pertain, to religious controversy. For the archæologist the presence and execution of Saints Peter and Paul in Rome are facts established beyond a shadow of doubt by purely monumental evidence."

The state of religious feeling which made the acceptance or rejection of a belief in the presence and death of Saint Peter in Rome almost a test of one's soundness in the Christian faith is passed, and the time has long since come when reason, and a due consideration of the testimony for and against such a belief, should decide the question.

It certainly seems impossible that any other place in which Saint Peter died would have quietly permitted Rome to claim this most sacred association, as well as the possession of his burial-place and all the tender influences that naturally cluster around the spots where he is believed to have lived, preached, converted, and baptised. Has any other community claimed this honour? and would not the Christians of the period all know where Saint Peter died?

If Saint Peter had not lived and died in Rome, the absolute

knowledge that this claim was false must have been handed down to the Romans who witnessed the erection of the monumental basilica, placed, as Constantine believed, directly over his grave; who saw the church ad Vincula built by Eudoxia; who probably visited the oratories into which the houses of Pudens, and that of Aquila and Prisca, were converted; who witnessed the placing of the memorial in the Platonia ad Catacumbas by Pope Damasus. In short, to what other event of the early empire is there the same amount of indubitable testimony?

There are other most important indications of the absolute acceptance of these claims both before the days of Constantine and later. A very important one is the acceptance by all Christians of the twenty-ninth day of June as the anniversary of the execution of Saint Peter.

At the beginning of the second century of our era the artists, both sculptors and painters, as well as all artistic artisans, medallists, goldsmiths, engravers of precious stones, and workers in gold and enamel, began with one accord to reproduce the likenesses of both Saints Peter and Paul, in every possible form. That this should have occurred in the case of Saint Paul is most natural; but why of Saint Peter if he had not been closely associated in their minds with Paul and with Rome? We must otherwise believe that they were all deluded or all impostors, neither of which views is reasonable.

As the recent archæologists remind us, it is an easy matter to write of such controversies at a distance, but quite a different one to study, on the spot where the events took place, all the testimony that can be brought to bear on both sides, and to compare all that exists from the beginning of the arguments for and against. Commendatore Lanciani, who has shown an especial interest in this particular question, believes that any one who could witness what he has seen in the prosecution of the excavations and discoveries, and

could read what Grimaldi and Carrara have written, "would surely banish from their minds the last shade of doubt."

The teaching of the Roman Catholic Church is as follows: that Saint Peter went to Rome in the year 42 A.D., which was the second year of the reign of the Emperor Claudius. Eusebius says: "Immediately under the reign of Claudius, by the benign and gracious providence of God, Peter, that powerful and great one of the apostles, who by his courage took the lead of all the rest, was conducted to Rome," and, "like a noble commander of God, strengthened with divine armour, bore the priceless treasure of the revealed light from the East to those in the West, announcing the light itself, and the soul-saving word, — the proclamation of the kingdom of heaven." This statement, by this most ancient ecclesiastical historian, is supported by other early writers.

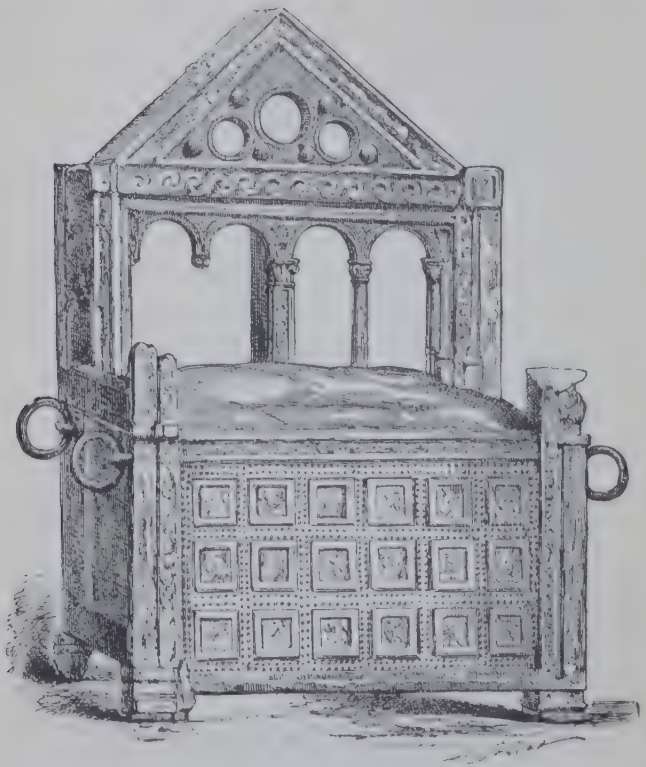
It is also taught that Peter resided seven years in the house of Pudens, of which we shall later speak, preaching, and baptising converts, and that in 49 A.D., when the Emperor banished Jews and Christians from Rome, the great apostle went to the East, attended the Council at Jerusalem, and proceeded to Antioch, where he met the Apostle Paul.

That he again went to Rome and filled that See twenty-five years, dating from his first arrival there, and, having the care of the Universal Church, travelled much, founding new churches and attending to various matters connected with his office; as in Acts ix. 32, we read, "And it came to pass as Peter passed throughout all quarters, he came down also to the saints which dwelt at Lydda."

That towards the end of the year 66 A. D., Saints Peter and Paul were thrown into the Mamertine prison; but even here they continued to preach and heal the sick, and besides the two guards who were converted, forty-seven others became Christians, all of whom were later murdered by Nero.

That Saint Peter, being persuaded by his friends, escaped

from his prison, and near the Porta Capena had a vision of Our Lord; and, hearing his words of sorrowful reproof, Peter returned to his prison, and awaited his death; which



CURULE CHAIR, CALLED SAINT PETER'S CHAIR. LIBRARY OF THE VATICAN.

occurred on June 29, 67 A. D., he being crucified with his head downwards, that he might not suffer as Christ had suffered, his Divine Master.

The Church does not claim to know the actual date of the establishment of "The Chair of Saint Peter" at Rome, but it must have been as early as the year 43 A. D., in order to support the claim that he occupied it twenty-five years, as the ancient usage was to reckon the first and last years as whole, although incomplete, and the day now celebrated in memory of that event is the 18th of January.

Saint Peter was succeeded by Saint Linus, who was martyred in 78 A. D.; Cletus succeeded him, and was put to death in 90; Saint Clement governed the Church until 100, when he too suffered death, and was succeeded by Anacletus.

To all Catholics, Saint Peter was the Supreme Head of the Church, and certainly all Christians must agree with the learned Isaac Barrow, that he had a primacy of worth, a primacy of repute, and a primacy of order or dignity.

A most interesting event was the re-discovery, in 1888, of the tomb of the Glabrio family, in the Catacombs of Priscilla, where several inscriptions were found which proved this to have been the burial-place of the martyr, Manius Acilius Glabrio, his wife, and other relatives.

Almost three centuries before this martyrdom the Glabrio family had been raised to a most honourable position by Acilius Glabrio, who gained the victory at the battle of Thermopylai in 191 B. C. As the fulfilment of a vow made at this battle, Glabrio erected the Temple of Piety, reared on the spot where the woman was said to have dwelt who saved her father from starvation by nourishing him from her own breast. The son of this warrior Glabrio offered to the father an equestrian statue, the first made of gilt bronze seen in Italy. This statue was discovered near the site of the temple, — now the church of S. Nicolo in Carcere — in 1808, and was reburied. These details are of interest, because the heroism and piety of the old hero were so worthily duplicated in his descendant and namesake, who was consul

under Trajan, and suffered death under Domitian in 95 A. D. because he was a Christian.

While still consul, Domitian had compelled him to fight a lion and two bears in the amphitheatre at Albanum; this contest made a vivid impression at Rome, and is mentioned fifty years later as the subject of a composition by Marcus Aurelius. After this frightful experience M. Acilius Glabrio is said to have feigned stupidity, but this is probably the verdict of worldly Romans, to whom the characteristics of devout Christians seemed a folly. Glabrio was exiled and put to death, but the scene of his sufferings and the date of the removal of his body to Rome are unknown. The crypt in the Catacombs of Priscilla contained so many graves of the Glabrii, their slaves and freedmen, that it would seem that the death of the brave ex-consul bore fruit a hundred fold in the conversion of his household; yet there is no known mention of them in ecclesiastical records. Roman historians and biographers told all that was known of them before the discovery of their burial-place. The same is true of the Flavii, who were converts to Christianity, of whose tombs I shall speak in a future chapter.

During the centuries that elapsed between Thermopylai and the reign of Domitian, the Glabrii had come to inhabit a palace on the Pincian with extensive gardens. We now pass over a portion of their domain when we ascend the hill and drive to the Villa Borghese. So great did their wealth and importance become that in the Senate, in 193 A. D., they were declared to be the noblest race in the world.

Other patrician names that may be cited as having become Christians or Jews — these terms were synonymous in ancient Rome — are Pomponia Græcina, wife of Plautius, a severe woman who dressed only in mourning and never smiled. She was tried for "foreign superstition" and acquitted, but is proved to have been a Christian by discoveries in the Cemetery of Callixtus; in the Catacombs of Prætextatus proof

of the conversion of the consul Postumius Quietus was found; besides the Flavii, among the noblest houses, there were the Æmilii, Cornelii, and Cæcilii, as well as others belonging to high official families and hundreds of the equestrian rank, who embraced Christianity.

A cemetery devoted to Christian prætorians was discovered in 1868, near the prætorian camp, the appearance of which did not indicate that many of these imperial guards were confessedly Christians. The occasional discovery of a sarcophagus, or an inscription belonging to a Christian soldier, in a pagan burial-place proves that this class did not court publicity for their faith, to say the least.

Tertullian, in his "Apology to the Nations for the Christians," dated 198 A. D., says, "We are but of yesterday, yet we fill every place that belongs to you, — cities, islands, outposts; we fill your assemblies, camps, tribes, and decuries; the imperial palace, the Senate, the Forum; we only leave you your temples." [One would say that such words would cost the writer his life, but we do not hear that he was even tried. The truth is that the Christian persecutions were periodic, and during long intervals entire religious liberty was enjoyed by all Roman subjects. That the Romans did not understand the Christians and their doctrines is manifest. That they confounded the Christians with the Jews, and called them all by the latter name, is abundant proof of their want of comprehension of the two peoples and their religions. After Tiberius received from Pontius Pilate the official report of the death of Jesus, he requested the Senate to include Christ among the gods, and some authors state that even Nero was at one time attracted by the Christian doctrines. When we remember the accustomed liberality of the Romans to foreign religions, and how readily they permitted the introduction of Greek and Oriental deities and their worship into Rome, it is more reasonable to look for toleration toward Christianity than for its persecution.]

Lampridius, who is said to have written the lives of Commodus, Diadumenus, Helagabalus, and Alexander Severus, says of the latter, who reigned about 222–235 A. D., and of Hadrian, whose reign was about a century earlier, "He was determined to raise a temple to Christ, and enlisted him among the gods; a project attributed also to Hadrian."

It cannot be doubted that Hadrian had some plan which he did not carry out. He doubtless had in mind a dedica-

SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS AND HIS TWO SONS.

tion of the temples that he erected to an "unknown god" in many cities, which appeared to him later to be unwise or even dangerous. Among other explanations of his course that have been given is the theory that he fully intended to dedicate them to Christ and Christianity, but was deterred by the fear that the pagan temples would be utterly deserted, and all Romans become followers of Jesus.

According to the biographer quoted above, even Helagabalus, with all his beastly idolatry, included Jesus Christ

and his doctrines, in the collection of universal divinities which he attempted to make for his private chapel.

Decisions in the courts in the favour of the Christians were not rare, and the privileges granted to the Jews at various times — especially under Septimius Severus, 193–211 A. D., and under Caracalla, his son who succeeded him — by which the omission of such Roman ceremonies as were opposed to their own faith was permitted, were, in all probability, extended to the Christians; and there is little reason to doubt that the Emperor Philip, 244 A. D., was himself a Christian, together with other members of his family.

It is, however, true that a conversion to the Christian faith was a disadvantage to an ambitious Roman; in fact, a full acknowledgment of such a conversion, and a life in accordance with it, would have cost him all the honours he desired at almost any period in the first three centuries of the Christian era. This largely accounts for the secrecy regarding their religion which was maintained by such men, as well as for their marriages with pagan wives, and the postponement of baptism, in some cases, to absolute old age. Naturally, such men must have assisted at public ceremonies and performed many acts which could not be commended by consistent Christians; but have there not been those who attempted to serve God and Mammon in every age? and oftentimes, alas! when it required no courage to be true to one's deepest convictions.

The transformation of Rome in its religious faith was very gradual, and in an analytical treatise can be traced from one step to another with great precision. It was a case of the "little leaven," and its work was slowly accomplished. Thoughtful Romans were weary of the old religion with its tiresome and senseless ceremonial and endless superstitions, and listened patiently to the enthusiastic, though whispered raptures of the few Christians who could speak intelligently of Christ Jesus and his Gospel of Peace and Love; for we

have Saint Paul's testimony to the ignorance of the doctrines of Christianity which existed in Rome in 62 A. D.]

The enormous proportions which the persecutions of Christians have taken on in the works of some authors, and in a general impression on the minds of multitudes of people, cannot be justified historically in regard to the numbers martyred in Rome itself, and we are not here concerned with the whole empire. Under Tiberius, 14–37 A. D., there were, in Rome, eight thousand Jews, so-called, which number doubtless included the few Christians who were already there. All these were expelled from the city; one half of them were banished to Sardinia, and as the decree against them continued in force, those who returned must have done so very secretly and gradually. Caligula was even more dangerous to the "Jews" than Tiberius, and under Claudius, 41–54 A. D., they were again driven out of Rome, as we learn from the Acts of the Apostles, xviii. 2. However forcibly their love of gain may have impelled them to risk the danger of returning to the great city, there cannot have been large numbers there in 54–68 A. D., and the true Christians were few and fearful of betraying themselves.

They had no other means of imparting their faith than by speaking of it as circumstances permitted; it was a sort of legend written on a few hearts and related secretly from man to man. The quality of vague other-worldliness — which Christianity, thus imparted, must have had — doubtless made it most impressive; and we know that many Romans of exalted rank listened to the Christian story, as Poppæa listened to Josephus when he was conducted to her presence by an actor who was a favourite with Nero. Here and there, among the few thus instructed, converts were made, and an uneasiness pervaded the hearts of educated pagans when they reflected on the teaching of the Christians and on the curses on idolatry, which were so emphatic in the Hebrew law.]

Tacitus survived Trajan, who died in 117 A. D., and, although the exact year of his death is not known, it must have occurred at a time when the doctrines of Christ should have been understood by men of education; but he doubtless expressed a very general Roman sentiment when he said, "These wretches, abhorred for their infamy, derived their name from Christ, who suffered death in the reign of Tiberius. His death checked for awhile this dangerous superstition. But it revived soon after in Judæa, the place of its origin, and even in Rome, the asylum which receives and protects the vices and crimes of the entire world."

It is asserted by some writers that Nero made an honest investigation of the Christian doctrine, and was somewhat attracted by it; however, after the great fire, 64 A. D., when the people sought for the incendiaries, a glorious opportunity was afforded for the enemies of the Christians to accuse them of this hideous crime, and Nero was but too glad to be able to seize such victims as no one would wish or dare to defend. Thus resulted those horrors which we know so well, by which Nero's cruelty and the desire to protect the Roman religion were satisfied; while the accusation of incendiarism afforded an apparently just reason for the destruction of the Christians. Some of the victims were covered with the skins of wild beasts and torn to pieces by dogs; others were crucified, while still others were smeared with inflammable substances and burned to death, some even answering the purpose of torches to illuminate an evening festival in his gardens, during which the Emperor mingled with the people in the dress, and assuming the manners, of a charioteer.

Hendrik Siemiradzki, a Russian artist, painted, in 1876, a wonderful picture of this scene, called "Nero's Torches." He faithfully represented it in accordance with historical descriptions; and such was the effect of these horrors, even on canvas, that one could not conceive of the possibility of

BUST OF NERO, CROWNED.

human beings making merry at a festival attended by such devilish tortures.

A part of Nero's victims suffered in the circus which Caligula had begun and Nero finished. Constantine destroyed this circus in building the basilica of San Pietro in

the Vaticano — S. Peter's — the north side of which was partly supported by the foundations of Nero's Circus.

[It has been customary for the writers of church history to speak of an organised persecution of Christians at the close of the reign of Domitian; but there is no confirmation of this statement in the writings of pagan authors who are deemed as reliable authorities regarding other persecutions. The Christians were still spoken of and treated as "Jews" by the Romans; and they profited by this confusion of ideas in some directions, in which they followed the manners and customs of the Hebrews. At length, however, the numerous conversions to Christianity alarmed the Roman rulers, and severe measures were taken against proselyting and against those who became proselytes; but, beyond that, each sect was free to follow its faith within its legitimate circle. The loss of property and perpetual banishment were serious punishments to a Roman who was known to be no longer a pagan; and it is apparent that those who, in spite of those penalties, now became acknowledged converts to Christianity were men and women of serious, steadfast character, who, having once apprehended Christianity, would die for it with the glorious fortitude of the Roman martyrs.]

Domitian, during fourteen years, apparently considered Jews and Christians as beneath his attention, so long as they paid the tax levied on them; but in the last year of his life, when he was agonised by a multitude of terrors, and when the High-priest was committing murders — as of four Vestals — and prosecuting the prominent Romans who were no longer pagans, for the purification of the worship of the gods, the Emperor permitted — if he did not seek it — the execution of Flavius Clemens. This man was not only a consul, but a member of the imperial family; a nephew of Vespasian and of the Empress Domitilla, besides being the father of sons on whom Domitian had decided to bestow his imperial dignities. When the fears and zeal of Domi-

tian could lead him thus far, why should he hesitate to sacrifice any number of the despised Jews, in whom he had no possible personal interest? and yet there are no official accounts of systematic or numerous executions of Christians.

It was left to Trajan to inaugurate a legal persecution; but that even he was not over-anxious to exterminate the sect is proved by his own words in his instructions to Pliny when the latter was governor of Bithynia: "Do not make search for the guilty, but punish those who by overt acts outrage the altars of the country." Mild as these words of Trajan sound, they were the first authority for religious persecution, the first legal promulgation of the unlawfulness of being a Christian.

But even under such circumstances the Christians had great opportunities for explaining their religion to pagan worshippers; and it is not surprising that from time to time the Roman emperors and the magistrates had a vague perception of a change that was taking place in the thought of the people. Their contempt for Christians blinded them to the truth that these despised men and women could teach a doctrine that was like a vivifying breath to souls sunk in idolatry. At times, in order to allay their suspicious fears, all teachers of philosophy and new systems of thought were driven from Rome, while the Christians were protected by the payment of the capitation tax.

The Emperor Hadrian wrote to his proconsuls in the same spirit as did Trajan, when he said, "If any man accuses the Christians and proves that they have done anything contrary to the law, judge them according to the crime that they have committed; if they have been calumniated, punish the calumniator." Here we discover no hatred of Christians, but the maintenance of civil law alone. Hadrian, in his extensive travels, had seen the representatives of so many faiths, and had perceived so little difference between them, that he seems to have replaced the Roman spirit of harsh

and narrow criticism with one of universal toleration, to say the least, and perhaps we may say universal charity. Whatever cruelty he may have authorised in the provinces, at Rome there was, as yet, nothing that merited the name of a religious persecution.

One can but speculate upon what the effect of such a policy as Hadrian's would have been if carried out by those who succeeded him in power. Under the theories by which the Romans were governed, by the attempted exaltation of paganism and the extinction of Christianity, a long chain of most unhappy consequences were induced; and, in spite of all the persecutions, the end was the same that it would have been had Christianity been welcomed.

We cannot reasonably suppose that in Rome the Emperor was associated with Christians, knowing them as such; but in Athens he had doubtless learned much of the new religion, for he was not one of those who closed his ears to whatever was new, believing that there was no truth that had not been discovered. The eccentricities of human thought had a fascination for him, and he liked above all else to have an opinion of his own that was not in harmony with all about him; and although he was conversant with all that was taught and approved by the Greeks, he was by no means content to feel that even Athens had exhausted human knowledge.

When Hadrian crossed to Alexandria he encountered a new world of thought. Both Athens and Alexandria were like great institutions of learning, but of a spirit almost diametrically opposite in the one to the other. For while Athens shut herself away from novelty, Alexandria welcomed it: she had no hoary reputation to content her; she was new, and she sought new ideas and speculations, and welcomed those of every land to which her vessels made their way. It has been said that "her ships were her feelers with which she touched on Greece and Italy, while her site was debatable land between Africa and Asia."

From one of Hadrian's own letters, written to Servianus, it is evident that he had given attention to the Christians and made his estimate of them. It was not a flattering one, to be sure, since he could discern no superiority to the pagans in them; in fact, he thought them much the same, saying, "There is no chief of a Jewish synagogue, no Samaritan, no Christian bishop, who is not an astrologer, a fortune-teller, and a conjurer."

While we may say that Hadrian respected the consciences of men, and persecuted no one purely for his religious belief, and while the death of Christian martyrs was not witnessed at Rome, we must not forget the war he waged against the Jews, who revolted against Rome, when all Judea was turned into a desert; when thousands on thousands were slain in battle, or died of tortures and fed the beasts of the amphitheatre, while other thousands were carried into slavery in foreign lands. It seemed to the Romans that they had extinguished the people who had but a single God, but the Christian work went on; and in secrecy, in a position too humble to attract attention or inspire fear in the minds of their rulers, the story of the One God — either as the Jehovah of the Jews, or the Father of the Christians — was patiently repeated, and the way for the triumph of Christianity prepared.

Shortly before Hadrian died he wrote the lines translated as follows in Merivale's "History of the Romans under the Empire." These words show that if he had comprehended the future for which the Christian hoped, he did not cherish it for himself, and they throw a doubt on the truth of the assertion of Lampridius, already quoted: —

> "Soul of mine, pretty one, flitting one,
> Guest and partner of my clay,
> Whither wilt thou hie away,
> Pallid one, rigid one, naked one, —
> Never to play again, never to play?"

In the reign of Antoninus Pius, 138–161 A. D., when few notable events occurred and Rome suffered neither war nor violence, a bold supporter of the despised Christian faith came forward to defend "the religion of slaves and women, of children and old men;" and so successful was he that for the first time scholars and men of science found it worth while to listen and to consider seriously the claims of the new religion.

ANTONINUS.

Justin Martyr well knew the various systems of philosophy, and was, by his own experience, prepared to point out the way by which an earnest seeker for divine truth may come through philosophic studies to Christianity, there to find the justification of all that is good in any other system and with something higher still, more uplifting and helpful than exists in all other philosophies and religions combined. His reasoning, his writings, and his eloquence were not without effect: the Emperor read his first "Apology," but made no new laws in consequence of it; and while there were no persecutions at Rome, under Antoninus, the same was not true of all the Roman territory.

To one who has read the "Meditations" of Marcus Aurelius, it is a surprise that he, of all men, should have persecuted Christians, with whom he was apparently so largely in

sympathy. But this Emperor was a devout pagan; the pagan deities were the manifestation of the "Soul of the World" in his estimation, and the Christian teaching concerning the birth of Jesus Christ and the doctrine of the Christian Trinity were incomprehensible to him. Moreover, as Emperor, he conceived the Christian anticipation of the "Kingdom of God" to be a threat to the established government; and when the Roman people attributed the national misfortunes to the presence and liberty of the Christians, this most exemplary, moral, and spiritual pagan permitted the persecution of the new religion.

MARCUS AURELIUS.

Among his earliest victims was Justin Martyr; and if any Christians were to be persecuted, one cannot wonder that he should be an immediate sufferer; for the ardour with which he had written his second "Apology" was calculated to arouse the vengeance of the pagans, rather than to convince them of "righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come," or to induce the fear and trembling which Felix manifested under the reasoning of the Apostle Paul. Has too high an estimate been put upon the character of Marcus Aurelius, or has the difference in standards resulting from the influence of Christianity unfitted us to be his judges?

When this Emperor died in 180 A. D., the religious thought of Rome was most unsettled. The time had come when reasoning men did not regard Jupiter as an all-sufficient divinity. Even those who lived like machines, — with whom habit was the motive-power of life, — while they continued to observe the religious ceremonial, were less fearful of the thunderbolts of the all-powerful than their ancestors had

been, and the hope of reaching the Elysian Fields seemed less attractive than formerly, — the temples were almost

SCENES FROM THE ELYSIAN FIELDS.

deserted; they offered nothing that could arouse a sleeping spirit or satisfy an anxious one.

Many systems of philosophy had been presented to the Romans, and great freedom had been permitted in the discussion of them; but these theories led nowhither, and were

like stones to hang about the necks of men already drowning. Neither Juvenal, Tacitus, the Plinys, Lucan, nor

JUPITER TONANS.

Horace were sincere pagans; indeed, they had no religion. Petronius calmly declares the human origin of the gods;

and, like Epicurus, many absolutely denied the possibility of their existence; while others, like Hadrian, had a troubled vision of an unknown deity, of whom no statue existed, and, who, as they vaguely suspected, was so great and incomprehensible as to forbid any human representation of him. Had the state religion of Rome merited the name, could Lucian have been permitted to write as he did? He makes Timon say to Jupiter: —

"Nobody now sacrifices to you, or offers you garlands, except perhaps some person at the Olympic games, and he does it, not because he thinks it a duty, but merely because it is an old custom. In a little time, most generous of deities as you are, you will let them dethrone you as Saturn was dethroned."

Doubtless such expressions would not have been allowed to pass unpunished if made by Christians; but that they found many sympathisers we may well believe, among the better-educated and more influential pagans. This discontent with the evident powerlessness of their deities did not, however, prepare them for the acceptance of the Christian faith, so largely concerned with things not seen. The temper of the age was that of materialism; and there was little of such a power for faith existing as could enable them to accept the dogmas of the Trinity and the Christian Resurrection.

It was the simple, humble pagans only who still maintained the family worship *in its purity*, who paid their devotions or kissed their hands as they passed the shrines. Men of the middle rank — not learned in letters, but with a habit of reasoning — had found their gods of slight avail when most needed, and had sought consolation from diviners and astronomers.

The Oriental religions, to which we have already alluded, found many disciples ready to suffer fasts and flagellations, and to join in the obscene rites and dances in which the

sensual mysticism of the East delighted to revel. Belief in magicians was universal: Christians, Jews, and pagans all feared and followed them; omens, predictions, and so-called miracles were far more powerful than any other influence, while dreams dominated men's lives.

But, in spite of all, an idea of divine unity existed, and many were coming to feel with Maximus of Madaura, who wrote: "What a fool, and utterly deprived of reason, is the man who does not regard as absolutely certain the existence of one God only, who, without beginning and without having begotten any like himself, is yet father of all the great things of the Universe!" Neither the pagans, nor, as yet, the Christians comprehended the complete spirituality of the soul. They still fed the Manes, and thought to please and content the shades of the dead by gifts, and even by sacrifices. Such beliefs and practices naturally entailed a constant thought of the dead; and a constant struggle was made to communicate with the Manes, in order to gain a knowledge of the life after death, and to do what might be done to aid and comfort those who, for any reason, could not find a resting-place.

Thus the dying paganism held on to forms; while, in truth, the way was being made ready for the establishment of Christianity. Many of the Fathers and Doctors of the Church discerned, in this condition, the initial preparation for the triumph of the religion of Christ Jesus.

The Christian doctrine, that poverty and suffering in this world led to joy in the future life, and that riches were a hindrance to a happy immortality, had been met with derision; and a gospel preached to the poor was scorned by those who had heard the teaching of the Stoics, — that the souls of the wise alone were immortal, while the poor and ignorant were annihilated. But when under persecutions the Christian martyrs proved the sincerity of their belief in the eternal glories which death would open to them, the

Romans were impressed by the vitality of a religion for which men would thus die, when a word could end the infernal tortures which they suffered, and give them life.

Thus the time arrived when Christianity commended itself to the earnest consideration of men for whom paganism was dead, and of philosophers who were discerning its truths in their own methods. From the days of Commodus it merged into a fuller light than had yet fallen upon it; and yet the number of avowed Christians was singularly small when we remember that even under Nero the new doctrine had made itself felt; while under Hadrian, Antoninus, and Marcus Aurelius it came to be regarded as a power to be feared even by mighty Rome. We know that this fear was well grounded, for beside the dying national religion a faith was being lived and taught that, even with its small company of disciples, would displace the old and establish a new cult that would not be for Romans, nor Greeks, nor Gauls alone, but for the entire human race.

Thus we come to the third century of the Christian era, — a century big with the increasing life and strength of Christianity, though its increase must be made at the cost of unimaginable sufferings and crimes; a century of bitter struggles, and dark with the decay and death of art and literature, the very grave of all that had made for the splendour and brilliancy of the preceding century in Rome; but a century which, considered from the Christian standpoint, is full of "the shining light, that shineth more and more unto the perfect day."

The current thought of this period was religious. Now the emperors added *Pius* to their own titles, and *Sanctissimæ* — most holy — to those of the empresses. All thoughtful Romans were seeking the divine, though by vastly different paths: some by the way of the Oriental systems, which attracted great numbers to their strange ceremonies; others by the Neo-Platonic philosophy which pagan teachers

had developed, and some by Christianity. The last hundred years had wrought a marvellous change in the Roman spirit: patriotism was dormant; luxury and pleasure had brought satiety, and gayety was replaced by sadness.

The growing strength of the Barbarians was a serious cause for such anxieties as were new to Rome. A century before this time the conception of an enemy who would prove essentially dangerous to Rome could scarcely have been grasped by such Romans as were now fully convinced of her peril. Revolutions within the Empire, too, had been followed by most lamentable consequences. The premonitions of death disturbed this degenerating and sinking nation, and the joyousness, the happiness, and the exultant pride by which the Eternal City had at various periods been characterised seemed to be entirely a thing of the past.

MARCUS AURELIUS AND COMMODUS.

As one reads some of the old philosophies, with their lofty aspirations and teaching of purity, or studies the faith of the Alexandrine School, he is forced to reflect that Christian teachers were not necessary if this life only were considered; all that is needed for the conduct of men, even to the Golden Rule, is found in writings that are known as pagan. Thus it was not with living in this world that the best type of pagan needed to concern himself: it was with dying and the

world beyond death; and Christianity presented death as the gate to a heaven and a life so resplendent with light and happiness that pagans possessed of sentiment and imagination desired to accept this religion and to gain this immortality.

The Christians now began to formulate their dogmas and to organise a system which has proved its strength and its fitness by its endurance. The Christian Church became the outward manifestation of a definite faith, the absolutely necessary tenets of which are few and unchangeable, while beyond these the modifications and progress permissible in its less vital parts has suited it to the needs of all nations.

The detailed history of the organisation of Christianity cannot be given here; but the marvellous ease with which all that was good in paganism was suited to the new religion went far to attract men by its "sweet reasonableness," and to induce them to listen to its teaching with respect. Christianity did not propose, like some movements of later periods, to overthrow all that had existed and to give nothing to replace what had been destroyed; on the contrary, it adopted and emphasised that which had been, and could be, made to express its principles, adding a light and a richness to the old conception such as had not before been even dreamed of. For example, it preserved the idea of sacrifice and feasts, — not in the suffusion of altars with the blood of beasts, and the eating of victims so slain, but in the Lord's Supper, which commemorated the great sacrifice made once for the whole world, the bread and the wine, or the eucharistic wafer, typifying the body and blood of the Lamb of God. Baptism, confession, and extreme unction replaced the pagan rites, and gradually God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost were substituted for the pagan Trinity.

After the death of Marcus Aurelius, twenty-two years elapsed without persecutions: this was, however, the result of toleration rather than of approval; the true sentiment of

those in power was that of scorn for so insignificant a people as the Christians, mingled with the aversion to such violence and disturbance as persecutions brought in their train.

Under Commodus, Marcia, to whom he was passionately attached, while securing the Christians from new trials, liberated them from the quarries, and from the penalty of exile. Some of the despised "Jews" were even included among the attendants of this Emperor. The peace and toleration thus enjoyed by the Christians at the close of the second century tended to make them forgetful of the probable result of great license of speech; and so fiery a man as Tertullian — a most influential writer and orator — was well calculated to awaken alarm and opposition. To the Romans, the Christians seemed dangerous revolutionists; and why not, when they refused municipal offices in such terms as follows?

COMMODUS AND MARCIA.

"Because in each of your cities we have another country which God has made for us, — the Church; and it is to the government of this that those of us who have authority by eloquence or moral character should be devoted." These and many like utterances would not be tolerated in any nation at any time, and they had much to do with bringing about the conditions which led Minucius Felix to say, "It is no longer our part to adore crosses, but to bear them."

In all frankness, we must admit that the Christians so far sinned against the State as to demand their punishment in the interests of good order; and horrible as the form of their punishment was, it but accorded with the spirit of the age in which it occurred, and is not so shocking to our present thought as the later horrors perpetrated by Roman

Catholics against Protestants, Protestants against Roman Catholics, and, worse than all, Protestants against each other.

In 202 A. D., Septimius Severus published an edict forbid-

SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS.

ding proselyting by Jews and Christians; but he did not command the searching out of Christians nor forbid the

existence of Christian communities. But since one of the absolute duties of the Christian was to preach his faith to all peoples, he could not obey the Emperor and satisfy his own conscience. There is no doubt that in the length and breadth of the Roman territory the edict of Severus was the death-sentence to many martyrs; but at Rome there was still great freedom for Christians, and those who perished were enthusiasts, who, not being sought, by their aggressive ardour, compelled the officials to choose between punishing them or disobeying the Emperor. These martyrs, suffering tortures and death with rapture, absolutely undermined paganism in the hearts of many witnesses, who could but ask why these men should thus consent to death, and what could be the secret of a faith so precious to them?

When Severus died, his edict against the Christians died with him, and nearly forty years passed before they were again molested. Meantime, they built their first churches; they also bought land in Rome; and under the reign of Alexander, Christian bishops were admitted at court, and the position of Christians was one of dignity and safety. But with the accession of Decius a new era was inaugurated: this Emperor restored the censors and published an edict commanding that Christians be sought out and punished; it was a war of extermination, — a persecution such as had not yet been experienced, for so good an authority as Origen says that before the persecution of Decius but a small number of Christians had suffered death, and, in fact, even the persecution of Decius has apparently been greatly exaggerated as to the number of its victims.

During the years of peace the Christians had increased in wealth, and the purity of their faith had been tarnished by worldliness. Perceiving this, the officials now endeavoured to make apostates rather than martyrs, and although tortures were applied they were not carried beyond endurance. It must be admitted that this policy was largely successful;

whole congregations, with their bishops, apostatised and bowed before the pagan altars, while men of wealth frequently bought their peace. Other punishments than death were allotted; and exile, imprisonment, and loss of goods were frequent sentences against the Christians. And as the edict of Decius was known throughout the Empire before

POPE SIXTUS AND THE DEACON LAWRENCE, ON A GILDED GLASS FROM THE CATACOMBS.

the date of its enforcement, many Christians escaped to safety, while others fled to the desert, to which fact the origin of the monastic orders has been attributed.

However, the register of martyrs ascribes numerous deaths to this persecution, and in spite of great confusion concern-

ing the facts, surrounded as they are by a web of improbabilities, it is doubtless true that a few distinguished persons and many ignorant men and slaves were executed. But the "accursed beast," as Decius has been called, was soon occupied with the preservation of his empire from the attacks of the Goths, and even while he still lived the imprisoned Christians were set free.

The most important persecution that had yet occurred began in 257 A. D., under the Emperor Valerian. It is noted for the execution of the brave Bishop Cyprian, of Pope Sixtus II. and of Saint Lawrence, as well as of hundreds of priests, deacons, and believers, both men and women. This reign of fiery wrath was short; but its momentous horrors have not yet, after sixteen centuries, ceased to arouse the profoundest abhorrence of its instigator and the deepest sympathy and admiration for his victims. Fortunately, Valerian was succeeded by Gallienus, whose gentleness is illustrated in the following anecdote: A man who had sold false gems to the Empress was sentenced by Gallienus to be eaten by a lion, but when the time for his punishment came, a capon only was let loose against him, and to the ridicule which this elicited, Gallienus replied, "We have deceived the deceiver!" This Emperor knew that the persecution of the Christians had been an abomination, and at once restored to them freedom of worship as well as their cemeteries and other possessions.

With the reign of Diocletian, 284–293 A. D., a new era was ushered in, which may be called that of the Later Empire. Imperial Rome was of the past, and it was followed by a period of dire confusion, with innovations within and wars without.

From this time nothing was added to Rome, and while to the stranger the city itself would have presented much the same appearance as when Augustus died, to one who had seen it in its prime it would have seemed like a vast tomb.

He would have missed the gaiety and animation of the old life which seethed in every portion of the city; even the stir of business was over; he would even have longed for a riot among the soldiers, or a tragedy in some noble palace, to once again arouse the Romans to some expression of interest and feeling. Certainly Rome was no more the mistress of the world; her consuls and senators under their rich robes and in their curule chairs were as if paralysed by the conditions around them, and Rome was "now entering upon its new *rôle*, that of the great Museum of the world."

Diocletian was a devout pagan, but not an intellectual one; he was a patron of literature and gave privileges to scholars which he himself could not appreciate; he established a school for advanced study at Nicomedia, and authorised the writing of the biographies of his imperial predecessors; but personally he held no broad or generous views, and by his pitilessness against revolutionists he emphasised his natural cruelty. His religion was that of the Roman peasant of a much earlier date; he relied upon the oracles and the aid of Fortuna in all his undertakings, and for his lesser needs he prayed to the gods whose province it was to serve an emperor. Naturally, Christianity was to him an abomination, and in spite of his numberless cares, — his establishment of an Oriental court with a ceremonial which made him appear more like a god than like the son of a slave; his numerous and burdensome wars; his many and fatiguing journeys; his institution of the tetrarchy; his financial reforms; his twelve hundred edicts which are preserved, — he yet found time for a terrible persecution of the Christians.

DIOCLETIAN.

Diocletian alone was responsible for this. In the earlier years of his reign he permitted the Christians to live as they had done under Gallienus: he closed no avenues to their advancement; they were in his army and his court; and, according to Eusebius, they were not excluded from his family circle, since his wife and daughter were favourable to Christianity, if not absolutely converted to it. But while the responsibility of the persecution rests upon Diocletian, Galerius, one of the tetrarchs, had, in the end, much to do with the development and conduct of the movement initiated by the Emperor. This persecution extended over ten weary years and was characterised by refinements of cruelty hitherto unknown.

During long years of peace and prosperity the Christians had apparently forgotten the dangers by which they were always surrounded. They now formed almost a second government within the first, for they held assemblies, chose their leaders, and did all this with a confidence and cheerfulness which could but be exasperating to the adherents to the sickly and dying paganism. They were enthusiastic and ambitious for the prosperity of their religion, but indifferent to the political needs of Rome, which was now the native country of numerous followers of Christ. Thousands of Romans would have gloried in the utter extinction of the hated "Jews;" while others secretly sought their counsels and envied them their uplifting and hopeful faith.

The Christians were forced into the army, and naturally felt the service of idolaters, and especially the sharing in the sacrilegious natural festivals, to be a sin against God and their own consciences. To refuse to enter the army was estimated as desertion; to disobey orders which involved matters of conscience with the Christians was a serious crime, and many martyrdoms were the results of these offences. The insubordination of the Christians led to their refusal to hold municipal offices which required the

observance of pagan ceremonies. There were also frequent cases of unnecessary insult to the Emperor and his government, as when the centurion Marcellus threw down his military belt and weapons, and in the presence of the soldiers declared, "I will no longer serve your emperors, and I despise their stone and wooden gods." Such conduct could not be pardoned in the soldiers of any country; he knew the penalty; he sought it needlessly and paid for his rashness with his life. In all this Galerius apprehended the most serious evil which could befall Rome, — the loss of discipline; and, having no tenderness for such mutinous conduct, he determined to repress it, in the army and out.

At the same time the Christians were quarrelling among themselves; and Eusebius, the Christian historian and an eyewitness of these matters, is most severe in his arraignment of the "believers," and declares that their liberty had overcome their discipline, and caused such carelessness as could but result in serious disturbances. He represents the bishops, pastors, and people as disputing bitterly with each other, all striving for positions of rank and influence. The Christian soldiers were the first to be punished, and Eusebius laments that this warning was not heeded; but that contentions waxed hot, and, in place of humbling themselves and propitiating the Almighty, they perpetrated crimes upon crimes until they could not longer be overlooked; when, according to the word of the prophet Jeremiah, "the Lord from heaven overthrew the glory of Israel."

Diocletian, while realising the necessity of suppressing the turbulence and rebellion of the Christians, hesitated as to the means to be employed. He consulted his council, who approved the severity of Galerius; he then sought the direction of the Oracle of Apollo, and was again told that the enemies of the gods must be destroyed. His first edict, following these hesitations, was severe enough, one would judge, since it destroyed the churches of the Christians,

confiscated their cemeteries, burned their religious books, prohibited their assemblies, authorised judicial proceedings against them, and forbade their instituting any in return. Those of the lowest classes were condemned to slavery, from which a Christian could not be enfranchised.

A Christian tore down this bulletin, and, this act being high treason, he was roasted over a charcoal fire. This incident was followed by various disturbances, such as fires and conspiracies, all attributed to the Christians, and all tending to hasten the persecution.

The second edict ordered the arrest of all bishops and other priests who refused to deliver up their Scriptures. Neither of these edicts mentioned the death penalty. Wise as Diocletian was, he failed to read the signs of the times. By demolishing churches, arresting the clergy, and destroying Christian writings, he hoped to strike a death-blow to a faith which could thus no longer be taught by preaching, teaching, or reading. He knew that the Christians were far too numerous to be exterminated, but he hoped, through fear, discouragement, and loss of organisation to render them harmless; and he indeed believed that under these circumstances many would become pagans, outwardly, at least.

The third edict offered liberty to the priests who would sacrifice to the gods; and every possible means was used to stay the rivers of blood which must flow in case of a general persecution. For example, while the officials could not ignore the edicts, they endeavoured to fulfil the letter rather than the spirit, and accepted the least word or gesture of assent to their demands as a renunciation of Christianity; Eusebius tells us that "a man being dragged to the altar and constrained to touch the abominable viands, was set free as if he had sacrificed willingly. Another had held out his hand towards the box containing incense, but had taken none from it; and the pagans cried out that he had sacrificed to the gods." Others were told to sacrifice to their own gods

mentally, and clear water in a red glass was given them to drink, in order to deceive the observers, who thus believed that the pagan libation had been accepted. But when, on the celebration of the twentieth year of Diocletian's reign, all pagan prisoners were set free, the Christians were retained.

At length, two years after the publication of the first edict, when Diocletian was seriously ill, Galerius and Maximian inaugurated the systematic persecution for which they had longed, and which was destined to endure eight years, — a persecution so dreadful that all its horrors cannot be recounted. When the mere killing of Christians ceased to thrill the persecutors with the savage joy they at first found in it, they blinded, cruelly maimed, and otherwise tortured their victims, and then sent them to the mines, where they suffered hunger and thirst, and were cruelly flogged. No computation of the number of martyrs can be correct, as no proper lists existed, which fact Eusebius explains by saying that the victims were so numerous that a record of them could not be made. Commendatore Lanciani says: "The memory of this decade of horrors has never died out in Rome. We have still a local tradition, not altogether unfounded, of ten thousand Christians who were condemned to quarry materials for Diocletian's Baths, and who were put to death after the dedication of the building."

Diocletian remained in Rome but a few days on the occasion of his *Vicennalia*, and soon after resigned the imperial power and retired to Salona, — now Spalato, — where he had prepared a magnificent home for his old age. Here he lived to see many wonderful changes; the murders of succeeding emperors, civil wars, and other serious disturbances followed one another in quick succession. But, greater than all these, he beheld the triumph of Christianity, and a Christian emperor on the throne; while his wife and daughter were exiled and deprived of their possessions; and at length,

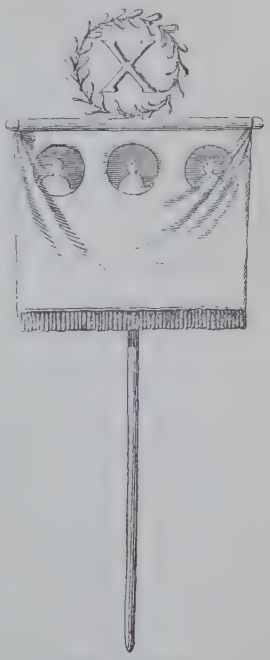
worn out with grief, he voluntarily ended his days. This account of his end differs from that of other authorities of his time. We cannot here discuss the two theories, but we can assure ourselves that Constantine permitted the apotheosis of Diocletian, and other ceremonies, as if he were wearing the purple at the time of his death.

With Constantine's accession to the throne, in 306 A. D., persecution ceased; but the Church did not gain its full liberty, with the possession of its edifices and burial-places, until this Emperor published the "edict of Milan," in 313 A. D., the year in which Diocletian died, and two years after the death of the cruel and bloodthirsty Galerius. This famous rescript was not a purely Christian document, as it gave perfect liberty to all religions, and, curiously enough, was signed with the pagan title of Pontifex Maximus. This policy is in accord with the wisdom of a clear-sighted ruler, who wished for peace in his dominion, and perceived that paganism was already so nearly dead as to be harmless. Constantine desired to maintain peace between Christians and Pagans; and, in order to be the friend of all, he retained the title which made him the head of paganism, and deferred his baptism — being thus unable to take part in Christian solemnities — until his last hour. There are, however, many indications that while in his government *from his head*, he was bent on all that made for peace, *in his heart* he trusted one God alone, and was in no sense a pagan. There are many opinions on this point. Niebuhr says that Constantine was never a Christian; other writers see in him a devout follower of

CONSTANTINE.

Christ; and after reading the arguments on both sides, one must still ask, if he were not a Christian, why did he, when consciously passing beyond the power of either Christian or pagan, — in the most solemn hour of his life — declare himself a Christian by receiving Christian baptism?

And how can we ignore his words when the Donatists desired him to pronounce upon the verdict of the Councils of Arles and Rome: "They appeal to me, when I myself must be judged by Christ;" and since it has been proved that the words *instinctu divinitatis* — by the will of God — in the dedicatory inscription of the Arch of Constantine made a part of the original inscription, we must admit that this Emperor had the courage of his convictions when he thus publicly proclaimed his faith. When he accepted the honour of a temple from the Umbrians, — a fact which has been cited to disprove his Christianity, — he did so on this condition: "we accept it, *provided you do not contaminate it with superstitious practices.*" And why did Constantine raise a basilica over the tomb of Saint Peter, and why place the massive gold cross upon the gold lid of the Apostle's coffin, as it was seen in 1594 by Giacomo della Porta, Pope Clement VIII., and several cardinals?



THE LABARUM.

However, more important than anything that this great Emperor did or believed, is the sad truth that even in his

reign contentions arose among the Christians, which directly led to disasters. The dissensions between pagans, the Nicæan Orthodox sect, and the Arians, were destined to result in new horrors. Under the Emperor Constantius pagans were persecuted in their turn, and death and tortures were decreed for those who inquired of soothsayers and diviners concerning the future, while the Orthodox Christians were hated by this Arian Emperor perhaps more violently than the pagans. At the same time synods were multiplied *ad infinitum*, and, in short, the disagreements among Christians led to open hostilities in Rome and other cities of the Empire, and in quelling these disturbances many lives were lost.

The Roman Church made large demands for power, and already placed its bishop above the Emperor. Ammianus Marcellinus shows us the policy of Constantius and its results. "The Christian religion, which, in itself, is plain and simple, *he* confounded by the dotage of superstition. Instead of reconciling the parties by the weight of his authority, he cherished and propagated, by verbal disputes, the differences which his vain curiosity had excited. The highways were covered with troops of bishops galloping from every side to the assemblies, which they call Synods; and while they laboured to reduce the whole sect to their own particular opinions, the public establishment of the posts was almost ruined by their hasty and repeated journeys."

When Constantius visited the capital he would not permit the customary libations to be made in his presence, but he did not otherwise disturb what was still the official religion of Rome; neither were the temples molested at this time; and the Duc de Broglie says: "The pagan cult was officially maintained and often honoured, and it was, at the same time, insulted with impunity. Everything depended on the disposition of the people and of the magistrates, on the strength of one party or the other, — often on a mere accident of place."

Constantine had found the Arians more docile than the Orthodox, and had exiled the chiefs of the latter party. Constantius was enthusiastically an Arian. Rome was determined to be acknowledged as the centre of Catholic unity, and was soon recognised by both Pagans and Christians as the chief and most dignified of the episcopates. The Arian sect was most numerous in the East, while the Nicæan Orthodox were strongest at Rome, which city became a refuge for those of Orthodox faith who were persecuted elsewhere. As yet the Christian Church was governed by synods and councils, the pontifical supremacy not being established; but the Roman clergy were gradually gaining control of the religious movement, and preparing the way for their ultimate superiority.

Constans, the feeble Emperor of the West, was as clay in the hands of the Pope and the Roman bishops; and as he was undisturbed by either bishops or people regarding the policy of the church government, he made no objection to it. In accordance with the wishes of Pope Julius, Constans arranged with Constantius for the meeting of a general council at Sardica — Sofia — which bordered on the two empires. The influence of this most interesting and important council is still powerful, though fifteen and a half centuries have rolled between it and our day. The separation of the Greek and Latin churches was made decisive by this assembly, and from that day the Papacy was of greater importance; indeed, it may be said that the decision of this assembly caused the invention and establishment of that supreme power over Roman Catholic Christendom which has maintained itself through all the chances and changes of these many centuries.

The letter written to Pope Julius by the bishops at Sardica claimed to make a "report to the chair of Saint Peter." In it they recognised the jurisdiction of the Pope over all the churches of the Roman See, and testified their deference

to that See as being the place where, "in honour of Peter's memory," religious questions could be brought for decision. And yet Pope Julius had been excommunicated at Sardica! Five years of comparative tranquillity followed this council, when the death of Constans occasioned fresh disturbances.

In 355 A. D. Constantius summoned a council at Milan, with a determination to bend the Orthodox Christians to his will. In this he signally failed, and revenged himself by sending several bishops and many priests into exile, Liberius, the successor of Pope Julius — who had gone to Milan against his will — being of the number. Constantius now instituted a persecution of the Orthodox, which some ecclesiastical writers claim to have been more cruel than that of Diocletian. It was a period of terrible anarchy; in Rome and other parts of Italy the clergy refused to acknowledge and serve the bishops who had been appointed to fill the sees of those exiled at Milan; Bossuet's expression was not too strong, — "Hell was unchained."

When Constantius visited Rome, after the Council of Milan, a company of most distinguished matrons begged him to recall Liberius. The Emperor temporised by consenting to his return if he would share his position with Felix, who had been appointed his successor. This the Orthodox Romans refused; but Liberius, wearied in body and spirit by the trials of his exile, wrote a letter of submission to the Emperor and signed an equivocal declaration of faith which Constantius accepted, while Liberius had not denied the "consubstantiality" on which the Orthodox Church so strenuously insisted. When Liberius re-entered Rome, August 2, 358 A. D., Felix was driven out by a riot; again he was recalled, only to be obliged again to escape for his life, this time leaving many dead behind him. Thus neither Orthodox nor Arian Christians hesitated to shed blood in the cause of a religion which glories in bringing the glad tidings of peace and love to all the world.

From this time the Church ruled at Rome, — a second empire within the older one; doubtless many and great Christian virtues existed in the hearts of those who had no personal ambition, but those whose position entitled them to a place in history seem to have been animated — with a few glorious exceptions — with the spirit of which Ammianus Marcellinus says, "Wild beasts are not more fierce towards man than most Christians are towards each other."

It would seem, however, that the position involved a choice between two evils. Would it have been better to make the Church subordinate to the State rather than have the bishops and clergy ambitious of undue power? We can now institute a comparison between the two methods, as we have seen the results of each.

The Roman Church may be accused of having caused bloodshed by contending for sovereignty over kings and peoples; it may be said that during centuries she fettered the thought of the world and retarded the free action of the mind; but it must also be admitted that she made glorious amends in her useful institutions and her splendid achievements in education of her scholars, as well as in art and letters.

What meantime was accomplished by that Eastern Church — which Constantine made obedient to the civil power — towards the civilisation of the world, that at all compares with the great enterprises and heroic self-sacrifices of the Western Church? In the middle of the fourth century the Roman Church was struggling for liberty; and it is not reasonable to think that any man then living had ever dreamed, in his most exalted moments, of such extent and power as time placed in her hands.

We have seen that the union of Church and State in antiquity made the pagans persecutors; we know that in the Middle Ages the same methods produced the same results. We also know that harmony between the two, and liberty

for each, produce an almost ideal condition of human progress. But who, in the fourth century of our era, could conceive of the possibility of the independence of these, and peace and prosperity therewith?

Unfortunately, the transformation of Rome from a pagan to a Christian government and church must be portrayed first in these revolutions and struggles of Christianity against the old religion and its persecutions; and next, in its conflicts with the foes of its own household, who at times proved equally dangerous and deadly with the worshippers of Jupiter and Mars. Meantime "a glorious army of martyrs" had testified to the truth of their faith, while legions of holy men and women were doing the Master's work in his spirit, their names unknown and their noble deeds unrecorded.

On the death of Constantius, in 361 A. D., Julian, known as "the Apostate," came to the throne. On his accession he publicly proclaimed himself a pagan, and there is reason to believe that his usual title is unmerited, as there is a grave doubt as to his having been a Christian at any time; those who controlled him when a boy enrolled him among the followers of the faith, quite without personal responsibility on his part. He has also been called a persecutor, — a charge by no means maintained in its grossest sense, although a moral persecution may be imputed to him. But during his short reign he was in the East, and so occupied with affairs of the Eastern Empire that he concerns us but little in the study we are pursuing. His application for recognition from the Roman Senate was favourably answered, and disapprobation of his

JULIAN AUGUSTUS.

invectives against Constantine was plainly expressed in the words, "Respect, we beseech you, the author of your fortune."

However, the mere existence of a pagan emperor inspired a certain courage and gave a last comfort to the hearts of the surviving members of the dying religion, and Roman society, in the latter half of the fourth century, presented some most unusual and interesting features. Here, where the ecclesiastical government was already established, the pagan gods were still worshipped; but the attempt to restore paganism to its former consideration, made under Julian, was so fruitless as to emphasise its fatal decay as nothing else could have done.

That the lion and the lamb should lie down together could be no more surprising than that pagans and Christians should marry and live in peace, which was not unusual at this time in Rome. This betokened an indifference which was not confined to the worshippers at pagan shrines, as the love of wealth, luxury, and splendour which had always characterised pagan Rome was now beginning to dazzle the Christians; and although the picture of a young Christian priest, drawn by Saint Jerome, may have been exaggerated, it proves that forbearance was necessary in judging both Christians and pagans.

"What are these men? To those who see them pass they are more like bridegrooms than priests. Some among them devote their life and energies to the single object of knowing the names, the houses, the habits, the disposition of all the ladies in Rome. . . . Our hero rises with the sun: he regulates the order of his visits, studies the shortest ways, and arrives before he is wanted, almost before his friends are awake. . . . Temperance, modesty, and fasting are his sworn enemies. He smells out a feast and loves savoury meats. Wherever one goes one is sure to meet him; he is always there before you. He knows all the news, proclaims it in an authoritative manner, and is better informed than any one else can be. The horses which carry him to the four quarters of

Rome in pursuit of his honest task are the finest you can see anywhere. . . . This man was born in the deepest poverty, brought up under the thatch of a peasant's cottage, with scarcely enough of black bread and millet to satisfy the cravings of his appetite; yet now he is fastidious and hard to please, disdaining honey and the finest flour. An expert in the science of the table, he knows every kind of fish by name, and whence come the best oysters, and what district produces the birds of finest savour. He cares only for what is rare and unwholesome. In another kind of vice he is not less remarkable; his mania is to lie in wait for old men and women without children. He besieges their beds when they are ill, serves them in the most disgusting offices, more humble and servile than any nurse. When the doctor enters he trembles, asking with a faltering voice how the patient is, — if there is any hope of saving him. If there is any hope, if the disease is cured, the priest disappears with regrets for his loss of time, cursing the wretched old man who insists on living to be as old as Methusaleh."

Saint Jerome also wrote: "I am ashamed to say it, but there are men who seek the priesthood and the diaconate in order to see women more freely and rival in luxury the consuls, governors, and generals of armies. They care only for their adornment; their hair is curled; their fingers glitter with the sparkle of diamonds. . . . They are like young bridegrooms rather than priests."

Other witnesses to the above condition of the Christian priesthood in Rome are Gregory Nazianzen, Sulpicius Severus, Salvianus, Saint Isidore of Pelusium and Ammianus Marcellinus, all of whom are equally severe in their estimation of the habits and customs which seem so unbecoming a Christian priesthood, and yet were so generally indulged. Ammianus also says that if men desire to live as luxuriously as is the prevalent custom of the men of rank and wealth at Rome, they must labour to attain riches and prominence with great patience and "vehemence." He also adds that, having done this, if they are successful they will be secure from all future anxieties.

The luxury of Rome in the fourth century seems like a repetition of the extravagances of which Livy so feelingly discourses, which were introduced in the second century when the victorious Manlius brought Asiatic luxury to the capital. All the splendid productions of the Eastern looms were now seen in the palaces of the wealthy in great profusion, while the other decorations of their homes were most magnificent.

The tables of the wealthy, too, cost in their maintenance the most fabulous sums, and the diversions introduced between the courses gave an air of enervating dissipation to their entertainments. Men lavished as much thought and care on a supper as their ancestors would have given to the conquest of a new province; and the degeneration of the Romans in the midst of the dangers which were threatening them could but foretell the fate which another century sealed. Even patricians counted it as a distinction to invent a new dish, and it was not uncommon for them to dispute each other's claims to these honours.

The magnificence of their table service was marvellous, their plate being estimated by weight. In some cases it reached ten thousand pounds, while a tenth that amount was not uncommon. The enormous booty taken from conquered nations brought immense wealth to a certain class of Romans, and their tastes, which soon became most luxurious, were gratified by every means that human imagination could suggest. Their homes were abodes of luxurious splendour, decked with the spoils of other and more refined lands, sumptuous hangings and carpets, exquisite vases, marbles and bronzes, and a thousand beautiful objects of art. Their slaves were numerous; dancing-girls and courtesans lived for their amusement and gratification; and even when enjoying the sight of living human flesh torn by wild beasts, the degenerating Romans required to be shaded from the sun, to be showered with perfumed sprays, while sipping cool sherbets

A DANCER.

and feasting upon the agonies of slaves, criminals, and Christians. This condition of Roman society endured more than two hundred and fifty years, during which Rome was

"the capital and sewer of the world;" and it required many men like Saint Jerome and Marcellinus, who fearlessly denounced even Christian priests, to arouse the sleeping morals and energy of the converts to the Gospel among the wealthy classes. And we are not surprised that when the best men and women among them emerged from pagan darkness into Christian light, they fled to deserts and caves to escape the scene of their debasement and endeavour by the severest penance to atone for past sins.

Julian was succeeded by Jovian, who lived but a short time and was of slight importance, except that, being a Christian, he persecuted no one and restored to the Church the privileges it had enjoyed under Constantine. After Jovian came Valentinian I. and Valens; the former resided at Milan and left the Eastern Empire to Valens, and from this period the two empires were essentially divided.

Valentinian was passionate and extremely cruel, but he utterly refused to be drawn into religious disputes. A Christian himself, he left the pagans in peace. He replaced the Cross on the military standard; he forbade suits to be brought against Christians on Sunday; permitted Christian prisoners to go to Church on Easter Day; and acknowledged the authority of the bishops and their councils. He also granted certain privileges to the pagans, but the lands which the Christians had seized under Constantius, which had been restored to the pagans under Julian, he permitted neither to hold, and gave them to the treasury of the State.

Personally Valentinian was occupied with repulsing the barbaric hordes — the precursors of the downfall of Rome — who were attacking the frontiers of the Roman domains on all sides; and when receiving an embassy from one of these tribes at a fortress on the Danube, the Emperor gave way to a fit of temper in which he burst a blood-vessel and died in a few hours.

Valentinian I. was succeeded by his son Gratian, in 367 A. D., a lad of sixteen years who had come into a position of doubtful honour. The Empire was rapidly disintegrating, and Rome was in no condition to battle successfully against the courage, savagery, and energy of the barbarians.

At this time the Christians were anything but military in spirit. They were seized with an enthusiasm for celibacy; not only were the clergy celibates themselves, but they urged this condition of life upon all, as being that which was most conducive to the safety of the soul. While Saint Ambrose perceived and lamented that the world was dying out, he yet wrote and preached the merits of celibacy; and the "Letter to Eustochia" from Saint Jerome went so far in this direction that many in Rome thought it an absolute condemnation of marriage.

Another influence which rendered the Christians useless in affairs of war or government was the stampede for the desert: a monastic life was of all things the most desirable; and the example set by Saints Basil, John Chrysostom, and Gregory, who were all monks before they became bishops, and by an army of other men and women, made this fleeing to the deserts, caves, and mountains a movement of immense importance. The philosophers, too, advocated a life of separation from the world; thus two great moral powers gave their influence to the absolute neglect of duty to the State or to the army.

Paula, a noble matron, who accompanied Saint Jerome to Bethlehem and there founded a nunnery, wept when she heard her daughter had died in Rome. But Saint Jerome in his severity would not permit her to listen to her mother's heart, — although the Mother of Jesus had consecrated the sentiment of maternal tenderness, — and he exclaimed to Paula, "Thy grief saddens the heart of Jesus." The example of Saint Melanie was extolled as worthy of imitation; when her husband and two children died in one day, she exclaimed,

without a tear, "Henceforth I shall be more free to serve the Lord." Examples of this kind could be indefinitely multiplied; and the spirit and example of these notable cases among the patricians was followed with eagerness by women of lesser position until some desert places were peopled with mothers and daughters whose only thought was the selfish one of saving their own souls at any cost that it might entail on others.

Gratian, though appearing at first to be vacillating in his religious opinions, was quite under the influence of Saint Ambrose, and was in reality an Orthodox, as he proved by acts which filled the Christians with joy and satisfaction. He refused the sacerdotal robe which the pagans offered to all emperors on their accession. He gave to the State the properties and revenues of the temples; he removed the Altar of Victory from the Senate-house, took away the privileges which the Pontiffs and Vestals had always enjoyed, and while he did not persecute the pagans, he destroyed every hope which remained to them in regard to their old worship.

But soon the attention of the Emperor was concentrated on his favourite pursuit, the chase: he surrounded himself with noted hunters and dressed and lived as they did, and as his favourites were Barbarians, on whom he lavished favours, his soldiers were far from friendly to him; his unpopularity was such that when he was killed, near Lyons, by an officer of cavalry under Maximus, the latter, though essentially the murderer of Gratian, was proclaimed Emperor. While the story of the five years of his imperial sway is most interesting in the political history of Rome, it has no special interest in regard to the Christian religion. It is true that he drove Valentinian II. from Milan on the plea of protecting Orthodoxy from Arianism; but this so alarmed the Emperor of the East, Theodosius, that he soon collected an army and appeared before one outpost after another held

by the troops of Maximus, and made his triumphal march to Aquileia, where the murderer of Gratian was himself beheaded.

Valentinian II., a boy of seventeen, was restored to his empire, which was enlarged by provinces in Gaul, and was styled the Emperor of Western Illyria, Italy, and Africa; but, in fact, he was ruler over no country, Theodosius being from this time essentially the monarch of both the Eastern and Western Roman Empires.

A BISHOP. S. AMBROSE.

In 390 A. D., while the Emperor was still in Milan, that struggle between Ambrose and Theodosius occurred which is known as "the Penitence of Theodosius." The claim that the bishops of the Church were superior to the rulers of the empires of this world, was not new. Twenty-seven years earlier Gregory Nazianzen had boldly declared, in reply to an imperial edict, "The law of Christ makes you subject, like the rest, to my authority and my throne; for we also are kings, we rule an empire higher and more noble than yours, unless it be true that the spirit is inferior to the flesh, and heaven to earth;" and the Archbishop of Milan had boldly declared, "The Emperor is in the Church, not above it." But until now no absolute test of this doctrine had been made.

The first victory of Ambrose was gained in relation to a synagogue which had been burned by a Christian bishop in Callinicum, a city on the Euphrates; Theodosius had decided

that the bishop should rebuild the synagogue. Ambrose wrote to Theodosius disputing his right to decide thus, and claimed that the discipline of the State should be subordinate to religion. He called the synagogue a house of impiety, and threatened the Emperor in these words, "I write to you that you may hear me in your palace, lest otherwise it should be necessary that you hear me in the Church." Receiving no reply from Theodosius, when he next presented himself in the Church, the bishop stopped the service, and demanded of Theodosius that he should revoke his decision against the Church, in the presence of the whole assembly. Theodosius, though violent in temper, at length yielded, and the Emperor thus acknowledged himself inferior in power to the rulers of the Church.

This beginning of such assertion, in which particular case Saint Ambrose could scarcely be justified by an unprejudiced judge, was soon followed by a second of far greater importance. An outbreak had occurred at Thessalonica, and several persons were killed, among whom was the commanding general. When the news reached Theodosius, in his rage, he ordered the slaughter of all the citizens by the Goths whom he had placed there. Ambrose, hearing of this, begged the Emperor to forego his vengeance, and, as he thought, received the promise of Theodosius to recall his savage command. Not only did the massacre occur, but it was conducted by the most cruel method, the people being invited to the circus, and there butchered. When this news reached Milan, Ambrose took his resolution.

When next the Emperor approached the Church the bishop stopped him at the door and refused to permit the shedder of innocent blood to profane the sanctuary. The guilty sovereign dared not oppose the authority of the priest of the house of God, and the ecclesiastical historians tell of the pitiable, penitential prayers and tears of Theodosius during eight months, when he remained in his palace; and when at

last, he re-entered the cathedral, he fell prostrate before Ambrose and implored pardon, using the sacred words, "Restore to me my life, in accordance with thy word."

It is scarcely reasonable to accept the story of the Church in its entirety, as Theodosius did not abate his civil power during his exclusion from the Church, and meantime sent out edicts which were dated from Verona. Nevertheless, the Church had triumphed: Theodosius had been humiliated, and from this time it was long admitted that moral authority was vested in the Church; and although this humiliation had but a fleeting effect upon the conduct of Theodosius, as is proved by his later sentences against the Lycians, guilty and innocent alike, he had yet given the enormous weight of his example in favour of the priority of the Christian Church, and had set his seal to his earlier acts. For Theodosius had been baptised in the true faith of the Trinity in the beginning of his reign; he also suppressed Arianism and idolatry, and supported Orthodoxy with a firmness and zeal which caused his fame as a benefactor of the Church to rival that of Constantine.

During the three years that he remained in Italy, Theodosius completed the overthrow of paganism, and while he did not persecute individuals who remained faithful to the worship of their ancestors, — and in some instances even conferred the most honourable offices upon them, — he absolutely destroyed the old religion as a public institution. In 389 A. D., Theodosius visited Rome, accompanied by Valentinian and Honorius, the son whom Theodosius desired to be seen by the Senate, no doubt intending to send Valentinian to Gaul and to place Honorius on the throne of Italy.

In less than a year after Theodosius left Valentinian, the latter, after a serious quarrel with Arbogastes, commander of the forces in Gaul, was found dead, hanging from a tree, which gave an appearance of suicide. There is

little doubt, however, that he was murdered by the pagan general.

Eugenius now came to the throne, and, though a Christian, he was persuaded by Arbogastes — through fear of him, or gratitude for his having selected him as Emperor — to restore the revenues of the temples. This act was popular in the army, now so largely composed of Barbarians, and in Rome itself, where it was hoped that the old glory of the gods might be restored. The chief of the pagans, Flavianus, being appointed prefect by Eugenius, declared a cessation of all business and judicial proceedings during three months, which time should be devoted to the purification of the city; he received the bloody baptism of the *taurobolium*, which insured him purity for twenty years, and amid great rejoicing the Altar of Victory was replaced in the Senate.

The Christians were almost dumb under these surprising circumstances; even Ambrose was guarded in his resistance to the decree of Eugenius; but Theodosius, moved with righteous indignation, made the vast preparations which were needful, and crossed the Alps with his army. The first general encounter gave victory to the Christians; and the pagan prefect, Flavianus, perished in the conflict, while Arbogastes fled to the mountains and died by his own sword; but Eugenius was beheaded in the presence of Theodosius.

The great Emperor survived this successful blow to paganism but a few months, dying at fifty years of age, and leaving the Eastern Empire to his son Arcadius, who was but ten years old, and the Western to Honorius, who was not yet eighteen.

From the Church Theodosius merited the title of "Great," but what had he done for the State? What solidity had he given it that could justify his confiding it to two boys? The peace — little enough — which his empire had enjoyed

was but the fruit of his friendship for the Goths, who will now become the masters of the world. Alaric will ravage Europe; Asia will be the prey of the Huns; and Africa that of the tribes of the desert.

Nevertheless the work which Theodosius accomplished in the short time that he survived Eugenius, by annulling his rescript concerning the revenues of the temples, was the death-blow to paganism. The great end for which Athanasius, Ambrose, Gregory Nazianzen, and their brethren had prayed and laboured was now accomplished; the Church was independent of the State, and in nowise inferior to it. In the new conditions, it is true, there will be conflicts between these two powers; it is true that the Dark Ages are rapidly approaching, and that there is little of brightness for Rome, in whatever direction she is regarded. But "there is one glory of the sun, and another glory of the moon, and another glory of the stars," and after a long night the dawn will come, and a noontide will follow in which Rome will again attain a glorious height, and in ways not before known vindicate her right to be named as the Eternal City.

CHRIST AND THE TWELVE APOSTLES.

CHAPTER III.

PAGAN ALTARS, TEMPLES, AND OTHER CONSECRATED PLACES.

AS the worship of the pagan religion, from its earliest days, depended chiefly upon sacrifices, its first necessity was that of suitable places where these offerings could be made. The most primitive construction was the *ara*, which word we translate as altar, although *altare* is more appropriate to the later structures; one definition makes *ara* the base and *altare* the superstructure of what would seem to us to be fitly designated by the one word "altar." But for a long time *ara* was used to denote any structure above the ground on which sacrifices were offered, the most ancient being mere mounds of sods or stones. *Altaria* were erected to superior deities alone, while *aræ* served for the worship of inferior gods, demi-gods, and even of heroic mortals. They could not be used, however, for the worship of the gods of the nether world; these were served in holes and trenches dug in the ground.

On the column of Trajan, altars are represented in a perfectly simple, square form, built in regular courses of brickwork without a pretence of ornament. The earliest attempt to give them a more attractive form was that of making a base for them to rest on, and surrounding the top with a cornice, their shape being either square or round. On the occasion of a sacrifice, an altar was decorated with flowers and garlands; the oak, ivy, and asphodel furnished the proper sacrificial garlands, and were all known as *verbenæ;*

altars dedicated to sacrifices to the Manes were dressed with cypress.

The altars of a later date — many of which remain — were usually ornamented with bas-reliefs, and besides garlands, fruits, and flowers, frequently had representations of the sacrificial implements, of the animals which were offered to the special god of the altar, as well as the emblems or attributes belonging to him: thus the altars dedicated to

ALTAR OF THE TWELVE GODS.

Jupiter have the eagle and thunderbolt carved on them; Apollo is indicated by the lyre, the stag, laurel, etc.; to Venus are given the dove and myrtle; and to Bacchus, the panther, ivy, Silenus, and Bacchanals. Some very beautiful altars have been preserved, and they occasionally bear the emblems of more than one god, as at Olympia there were six altars in honour of twelve gods. The plural gods thus

served on one altar were called *Dii communes*, and the inscriptions on the altars gave the names of the gods to whom they were dedicated, as well as those of their worshippers who had erected them, and other facts connected with their history.

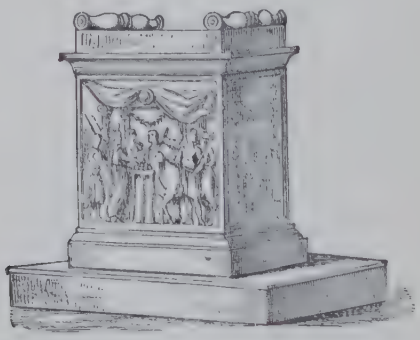
Again, it happened that a number of altars were erected to one god; this was necessary when a great number of victims were sacrificed, and on such occasions the altars were numerous and simple; but it was not unusual for a favourite deity to be honoured with several fine altars in a single locality. When altars were erected before statues, it was customary to make them lower than the statues, although the height of the altars also varied in accordance with the importance of the deities to which they were dedicated.

Altars were usually in the open air and sometimes in positions quite remote from any edifices, as on the sides of mountains and hills, or on the seashore; indeed, after temples were built, the altars for animal sacrifices were still out of doors, in front of the temples, while the altars within were usually before the statue of the god, and were used for burning incense, offerings of fruits, cakes, etc.

As the worship of the gods became more dignified, the space on which the altar stood was frequently surrounded by a *porticus*, which not only ornamented the sacred area, but gave it an appearance of greater importance and solemnity. The word *porticus* had a different meaning from the English "portico;" it was used to denote a building with a roof supported by columns, either in a straight line, or surrounding a space, like a cloister, and in the height of Roman luxury the porticoes were magnificent in construction and decoration, and were devoted to a variety of uses.

It was not unusual for altars to be erected before private houses and palaces; and when the Romans made important

covenants of any kind, they swore to them upon the altars. Marriages which were celebrated with sacrifices took place before altars, and a custom frequently mentioned by classic writers was that of touching an altar while praying. Altars were also of vast importance as places of refuge, as he who fled to an altar and called upon its deity placed himself so emphatically under the protection of the god that any insult or harm to the suppliant was regarded as offered to the divinity himself. Even slaves or criminals could not be seized or maltreated when clinging to an altar.



A TEMPLE ALTAR.

Many altars were in the form of bronze tripods, both in Greece and Rome, some of which in the former country were of great fame, as that at Delphi. Tripods were very generally used as altars for Apollo and Bacchus, one of their advantages being the ease with which they were moved from place to place, and some were even folded into a compact and convenient form.

It was customary for the Augurs to set apart and hallow certain precincts for religious purposes where no edifice of any kind existed. The whole *pomerium*, or open space,

both within and without the city, on which no building was permitted, was a sanctuary where religious services could be held, as it had been consecrated by the Augurs. The ploughing of this mystic boundary made a part of the primitive ceremonies in founding a Roman city. A bullock and heifer yoked to a plough made a furrow around the site of the new settlement, in such a manner that the clods fell inward and the little mound thus made was a symbolical wall; the pomerium — which signifies beyond the wall — was within this furrow and formed an encircling band or border, and the auspices concerning all matters regarding the city itself could only be taken in the pomerium, which might be within or without the city walls. No houses were built near its line on either side, lest the sacred border should be profaned.

In the strictest sense the pomerium was a clear space on both sides of the city wall. This was a necessity from a military standpoint, and it may first have been consecrated in order more effectually to prevent its being encroached upon. This custom was of Etruscan origin, and in the century preceding the Christian era was already of archæological interest and not clearly understood. When the population increased, the pomerium was necessarily enlarged, and this could only be done by one who had added to the domains of Rome. Stones have been found in many places in Rome bearing inscriptions commemorating the extensions of this sacred band; the dates of several of these enlargements are well known.

Another boundary existed without the pomerium called the *ager effatus*, and in this wider extent the auspices which concerned affairs with other nations, wars, treaties, etc., were taken, and nowhere else. For this reason, generals engaged in war were forced to return to the *ager effatus* to question or renew the auspices.

Every spot or precinct consecrated to religious purposes

by the Augurs, under the direction of the oracles, was called a *templum;* if consecrated without consulting the oracles, it

SATURNUS.

was simply a *sacrum:* after the will of the gods was known, no ceremonies nor sacrifices could occur on the selected spot,

nor any meeting of the Senate be held there until the pontiffs had solemnly dedicated it to these purposes. Dedications of sacred spots and the building of altars long preceded the erection of temples. Saturn was worshipped by the Romans, and, indeed, by all Italians, even in their prehistoric days; but his temple was not erected on the Capitoline until 498 B. C., and the first insignificant temple dedicated to the great Jupiter was not built until a century after the founding of Rome.

Recent discoveries have vastly increased our knowledge of the conduct and observances of the pagan worship, and many points which were formerly doubtful and furnished the opportunity for learned arguments and speculations have been clearly explained in a delightful and quite unexpected manner.

The Temple of Hercules and the *Ara Maxima Herculis*, the most ancient altar of Rome, were discovered in the time of Sixtus IV., — the close of the fifteenth century, — between the church of S. Maria in Cosmedin and the Circus Maximus. The bronze statue of the god and a few inscriptions were placed in the Capitoline Museum; but, alas! the temple and altar were razed to the ground by those whom Commendatore Lanciani fitly terms "the illustrious Vandals of the Renaissance." The altar known as the *Roma Quadrata* has been prolific of archæological speculations, and many theories as to its age, its disappearance, etc., have been promulgated, some of which are excessively ingenious and interesting; but they afford little positive knowledge of the ancient object so often mentioned by early Roman writers. Middleton believes it to have been a cubical stone, used as an altar, within the area of the Temple of Apollo, and surrounded by a trench, which typified the furrow of the pomerium, or sacred line within which altars were permitted.

The *ara* of *Aius Locutius* — the speaking voice — was

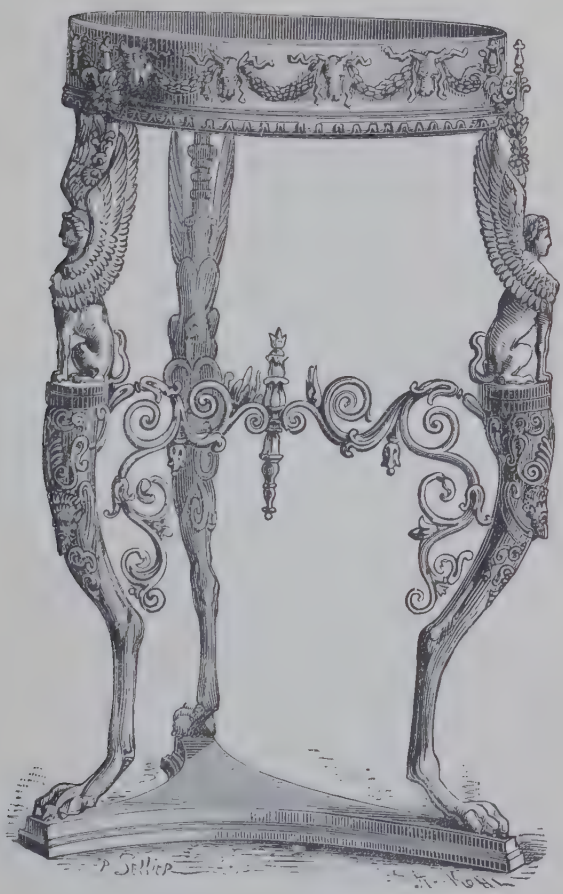
discovered in 1820, and is still in its place on the Palatine. It is inscribed thus: "Sacred to a Divinity, whether male or female. Caius Sextius Calvinus, son of Caius, prætor, has restored this altar by decree of the Senate." It is sometimes called the altar "to the Unknown God." Mommsen believes it to have been raised in memory of the mysterious voice which, in the stillness of night, announced the approach of the Gauls, 390 B. C., and advised the Romans to prepare for the attack.

The use of the expression, "whether god or goddess," is not uncommon in ancient altar inscriptions. The priests did not deem it wise to address a deity who was not well known by name, lest some error in the form of the ascription should offend the deity; and they had an aversion to speaking the names of local genii, lest some enemy should hear and learn them, and by violent rites drive the genii away.

Of the discovery of the *Ara Ditis et Proserpinæ*, in 1890, and of its revelations concerning the sæcular games, I have already spoken.

The *Ara Pacis Augusti* was erected in the Campus Martius after Augustus returned from Germany and Gaul. In 13 B. C. the Senate voted him an altar to be erected in the Curia, which he declined, and requested that the altar should be dedicated to Peace. The remains of this altar were discovered in 1554 and 1859, and are worthy of the golden age of Augustus, so exquisite is the art displayed in them. A portion of these fragments was carried to Florence; other pieces were inserted in the front of the Casino of the Villa Medici, and still others are in the vestibule of the Palazzo Fiano.

After the great fire of Nero, 65 A. D., the Romans made a vow to construct altars in each of the fourteen districts of the city, whereon, each year, they would make expiatory sacrifices. Nothing was done in fulfilment of this vow



TRIPOD FOR SACRIFICE.

until twenty-five years later, when Domitian claimed that the altars should be built. In the construction of the new *Ministero della Casa Reale*, one of these altars was

unearthed. It is called the *Ara Incendii Neroniani*, and is of great interest. It was situated on the Quirinal and joined the paternal home of the Emperor Domitian. The altar stood in the midst of a paved area of generous size, which was bordered with *cippi*, or stone posts, to mark its extent and protect it from infringement; it was built of travertine and covered with marble, and was about twenty-one feet long by ten feet wide. The *cippi* bore inscriptions, some of which have been read, and the posts used in other places; one of these was built into S. Peter's about the end of the fifteenth century, and in 1644 another was used in the foundations of S. Andrea al Quirinale. They are inscribed as follows: "This sacred area, marked with stone cippi, and enclosed with a hedge, as well as the altar which stands in the middle of it, was dedicated by the Emperor Domitian in consequence of an unfulfilled vow made by the citizens of Rome at the time of the fire of Nero. The dedication is made subject to the following rules: that no one shall be allowed to loiter, trade, build, or plant trees or shrubs within the line of terminal stones; that on August twenty-third of each year, the day of the Volkanalia, the magistrate presiding over this sixth region shall sacrifice on this altar a red calf and a pig; that he shall address to the gods the following prayer," — text of prayer is missing.

We have legends concerning the altars of Saturn in the Forum, and of Vulcan on the Capitoline. The first is said to have been erected by the companions of Hercules, and the area of the second was used for public assemblies.

The fourteen *regiones*, or districts of ancient Rome, were divided into two hundred and sixty-five *vici*, or parishes, and each parish was presided over by a magistrate. In 1888, near the new Ponte Garibaldi, an altar was discovered which was dedicated to the Lares of Augustus in 3 A. D., by the parish magistrate of the parish of *Esculeti*. The reliefs on one side of this altar represent four magistrates offering a

sacrifice, while on two other sides a graceful, youthful figure represents one of the Lares. A second *vicus* altar in the Vatican, and a third in the Uffizi at Florence, make up the number now known to exist. A number of small marble altars, in the shape of tripods, have been found in the Colosseum, some of which are seen on the right of the principal entrance.

A most interesting altar is that of Mercury, which was discovered in 1888, near S. Martino ai Monti. The inscription records that Augustus dedicated this altar in the year 10 B. C., it having been erected with money given him at the new year, during his absence from Rome. From Suetonius we learn that on the first day of the year, whenever the Emperor was absent, all classes of Romans climbed the Capitoline Hill, bearing gifts for Augustus, which money he as regularly used to purchase "the most valuable statues of the gods," to be set up as shrines at the crossways. Since the beginning of the sixteenth century four pedestals of these statues have been found; that of Mercury was both a shrine and an altar, and was near a crossing in the *Vicus sobrius* — the Street of the Temperate — from which the statue was called "Mercury the teetotaler."

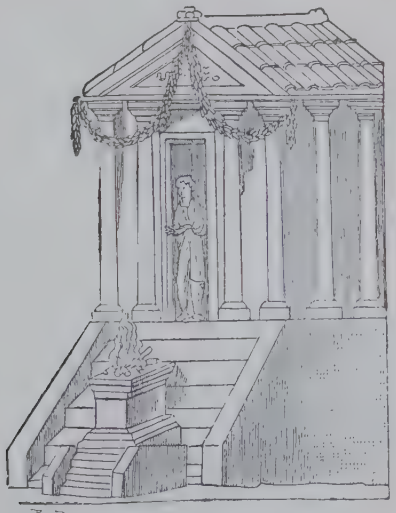
During the first century of the freedom of the Christians, when they no longer hid their images and crosses in the catacombs, the custom of placing monumental crosses at the junction of important streets and roads was established; and very early in the history of the Church, such shrines as are now used, with images of Christ, the Virgin, patron saints, etc., in a niche, were placed in prominent positions by the faithful. One sees in Rome to-day many modern crosses and shrines which — when compared with relics which have been found, and the written descriptions of ancient monuments of this sort — are almost exact reproductions of those of antiquity, and are, in a certain sense, the survival of both pagan and early Christian customs.

Some very curious altars existed in pagan Rome, which were dedicated to the deities of various diseases; and Commendatore Lanciani found one near the Prætorian camp devoted to Verminus, whom he calls "the god of microbes!" There were both altars and temples dedicated to the goddess of fever in general, and to the goddess of typhoid in particular, as well as to the goddess of the Evil Eye, who was supposed to scatter broadcast the ills which flesh is heir to. These facts call to mind, and apparently contradict, both Cicero and Livy, who called Rome a salubrious city in a pestilent region. But how could it have been a healthful place, surrounded as it was by marshes, before its proper drainage and the introduction of pure water? which last did not occur until five centuries after Rome was founded; and even after the fall of the Empire the health of the city was so bad that the inhabitants again sought the aid of Our Lady of the Fever, and built a chapel in her honour, near the Vatican, which was, in the Middle Ages, a much-frequented place of worship.

The temples of ancient Rome were so numerous that an exhaustive, or even a comprehensive, knowledge of them would demand the dedication of years to their study. In the fourth century there existed four hundred and twenty-four temples, three hundred and four shrines, eight statues of divinities made of gold and silver, sixty-four of ivory, and three thousand seven hundred and eighty-five bronze statues; while those of marble were so many as to be beyond counting, or were so common as to be slightly esteemed and not considered as sufficiently important to be recorded among the treasures of the city. But it has been said that the marble population of Rome was equal in number to that of living beings.

Rome has been and still is a vast treasure-house for the world; even in the last quarter of a century a thousand or more marble busts and statues have been brought to light.

In 150 B. C. Cornelius Scipio was obliged to remove all the statues from the Forum that had not been erected by a decree of the Senate, in order to make space for its proper and necessary uses, which were greatly hindered by the forest



ENTRANCE OF A SHRINE.

of statues commemorating an endless variety of events, as well as by a second forest of trees, some of which were much older than Rome itself.

The statues that were out of doors were, however, but a small part of the sculptures in Rome, since the temples and porticoes were essentially galleries of art; indeed, the Roman temples were not only adorned with paintings and sculpture, as are the churches of the present day, but they also contained cabinets of small and precious objects, such as are now placed in museums.

TEMPLE OF FORTUNA VIRILIS.

The plan of a Roman temple, like that of the Greeks, was very simple, consisting of the *cella*, or room within; in some temples there were more than one of these apartments, each of which had one or more statues of deities, with an altar before each one. The entrance was on the western side when possible; and the statue of the chief divinity was placed opposite the door, which was usually open, so that those who passed the temple could see the statue and salute the deity. It was customary to build porticoes on the end of the temple where the principal entrance was situated, and occasionally they entirely surrounded the edifice.

The temple of Apollo, on the Palatine, was begun by Augustus in 36 B. C., and dedicated eight years later. It was undoubtedly the richest temple of its time; and Propertius, who attended its dedication, gives a marvellous account of its beauty, its architecture, and the materials used in its construction. He praises it enthusiastically and recites the glories of its works of art, as well as of its precious objects in gold, silver, ivory, etc. The famous Greek sculptors of antiquity were here represented by their works, as well as the scarcely inferior Greek artists who crowded to the Augustan service in Rome.

Among the treasures of this temple were statues of Apollo by Scopas; of Latona by Cephisdotus, son of Praxiteles; of Diana by Timotheus; as well as magnificent bronzes on the pediment by celebrated masters of Chios; while on the apex of the pediment the celebrated colossal group of Apollo and Artemis driving a quadriga towered above the whole; and, being of gilt bronze, it caught and reflected the sunlight so that it could be seen from a great distance. The doors were covered with exquisite reliefs sculptured in ivory, representing the fate of Niobe's children and other kindred subjects.

Eighty portrait statues of Augustus, in silver, had been presented to the temple, which he afterwards sold, and with

the price of them bought splendid gold tripods which he presented to the temple in the names of the donors of the silver statues, together with his own name. There were also numberless lamps, vases, and other artistic objects in gold

ALTAR OF APOLLO.

and silver as well as in exquisite marbles; a collection of engraved gems; a chandelier dedicated by Alexander the Great at Kyme, which represented a tree, the fruit being replaced by lamps; medallions with portraits of celebrated

men; ivory carvings and a large variety of small objects of enormous intrinsic value, as well as fifty statues of the Danaids, the nine Muses, fifty sons of Egypt, etc. In this temple the Sibylline Books were preserved, being enclosed in gilt caskets and placed in a secret chamber within the pedestal to the statue of Apollo. In the temple of Apollo they remained until 363 A. D., when the temple was entirely destroyed by fire. It is recorded that the only things saved were the Sibylline Books, and yet their fate from this time is unknown.

Perhaps these famous oracles had served their purpose, more than eight centuries having passed since the Cumæan Sibyl had sold them to Tarquinius for the guidance of the Romans; perhaps we may be permitted to suspect that they were no longer regarded as the trustworthy guides which the *quindecemviri sacrorum*, or the fifteen custodians and interpreters of these oracles, had believed, or persuaded the people to believe, them to be.

The Temple-Museum of Apollo was but one of a large number of such shrines of greater or less sanctity and magnificence. The Temple of Concord presents a wonderful picture as described by Pliny; its plan was unusual, its *cella*, or interior apartment, being much broader than it was deep. A row of columns just inside the walls rested on a low foundation, or dado, which ran around the entire apartment, and on it, between the pillars, statues were placed. These columns were exquisitely sculptured, as may be seen in some of the bases now on the ground-floor of the Capitoline Museum. The time of Augustus was that of the greatest artistic refinement in Rome, especially in the matter of such detail as the fragments of the Temple of Concord display, which are unquestionably the work of Greek sculptors. The *cella* was broader than the great *porticus*, so that from the front it gave the appearance of side wings; the *porticus* was extensive, however, and colossal statues on each side

of the steps leading up to it added to its dignity: on the apex of the pediment, three figures embracing each other symbolised Concord, while other statues were placed on the slopes of the pediment, a winged Victory standing at each end.

The marbles used in the construction of this temple were of the rarest varieties, and their beautiful colours greatly in-

PRIEST OF APOLLO.

creased the magnificence of its appearance: the marble linings, too, were thicker than those of later edifices, as may be seen in the existing remains. The meetings of the Senate were frequently held in this temple; and this may partly

account for the width of its *cella*, in which were many rare sculptures, of which Pliny gives a list, far too long to be repeated here. Augustus had given to the temple four elephants, cut from the hard Ethiopian obsidian, — a volcanic rock, in a vitreous state, resembling bottle glass, being brown, black, or a greenish gray, and quite uncommon. Here was also preserved, in a golden horn, the signet ring of Polycrates, King of Samos; which ring had been cast into the sea with the hope of propitiating the Nemesis of the king; but a fish brought it back to the tyrant as a token that he must meet his doom, which proved to be crucifixion. Pliny did not altogether credit the genuineness of this ring.

The Temple of Concord was originally built by Camillus and restored by Tiberius and Septimius Severus. It was still standing in the time of Pope Hadrian I., late in the eighth century, but was destroyed about 1450, and "turned into a lime-kiln," according to Poggio Bracciolini; the fragments now remaining were found in 1817.

Pliny gives many interesting items concerning the art and art lovers of Rome, and leaves the impression that the marvellous gifts of Julius Cæsar to Venus Genetrix, his ancestral goddess, incited Augustus to extreme liberality in the same direction, in order that his fame might equal that of his great predecessor. A catalogue of the treasures of the temples was carefully kept; it was sometimes inscribed on marble, and a remarkable example of these records was found in the Temple of Diana Nemorensis in 1871, and is now in the Orsini Castle at Nemi. It is a pillar three feet in height; its inscriptions have been deciphered. It enumerates, not the treasures of the temple of Diana, but of two smaller shrines which were built within the temple enclosure.

It was not unusual for Roman temples to be decorated with flags and other hangings. These could have added nothing to the beauty of the edifices, and some authorities

very reasonably attribute to this custom many of the numberless fires that occurred in the sanctuaries of pagan Rome. Livy records that "In the year of Rome 504," the hangings

SECOND TEMPLE OF THE CAPITOL.

were taken from the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline, on the occasion of its restoration.

The custom of loading statues with jewels, which obtained in pagan Rome, is most offensive to our taste, and would seem to have been suggested only by a desire to exhibit wealth; it resembled some exhibitions made in the present day for the same reason, in which the decorated figures are not in marble. We are told of a silver statue weighing one

hundred and twelve and a half pounds, which was ornamented with "a diadem in which were set six pearls, two emeralds, seven beryls, one carbuncle, one *hyacinthus*, and two flint arrow-heads; also ear-rings with emeralds and pearls, a necklace composed of thirty-six pearls and eighteen emeralds, two clasps, two rings on the little finger, one on the third, one on the middle finger; and many other gems on the shoes, ankles, and wrists." This was a statue of Isis placed in the temple by a wealthy lady as a memorial of her deceased grand-daughter, and was but one of many like examples.

In the most ancient days of Rome, the Capitoline Hill was called *Mons Saturnius* — Mount of Saturn — in honour of the god who then ruled over all Italy, and was later displaced by Jupiter. The top of this hill — frequently erroneously called the Capitol, which should only be applied to the portion on which the great temple was placed — was divided into three distinct portions by two peaks with a depression between them; the southwestern summit was known as the *Capitolium*, and the northeastern as the *Arx*, or citadel. The depression was called the *Asylum*, it being here that Romulus established his asylum or place of refuge for those who desired to leave other towns and come to increase the population of his new city. The Capitoline is the centre of many important and interesting associations with the history of Rome from its very foundation. Here the Sabines made their stand against the Latins of the Palatine; and the *Capitolium* was also known, in past centuries, as the *Mons Tarpeius*, the scene of the treachery and death of Tarpeia.

The question as to which peak of the Capitoline was the *Arx*, and which the *Capitolium*, has been a vexed one until it was answered by discoveries made November 7, 1875. The southwestern peak was the *Capitolium*, and the site of the earliest temple in Rome mentioned by any classic author; here grew the sacred oak beneath which Romulus

MINERVA WITH THE NECKLACE.

vowed to build the temple; and although it is known as that of Jupiter alone, it was doubtless dedicated also to Juno

and Minerva, or to the Roman Trinity, to which a temple was raised in every newly founded town. This temple had three distinct chambers in its *cella;* the central one was devoted to the statue of Jupiter, while the statue of Minerva was in that on the right of the great Jove, and the statue of Juno in that on his left; these statues were of terra-cotta, after the Etruscan style. Air and light were obtained by means of an hypæthral opening in the roof.

This was the most important temple in Rome, not only on account of its magnificence and wealth, but also by reason of the solemnity of its ceremonies. It was the goal of all triumphal processions, and the victorious Emperor or General — surrounded by the Pontifex Maximus and other priests of high rank, the Vestal Virgins and the chief members of the Roman hierarchy — celebrated a sacrifice before the temple. Here also, in the *cella* of Minerva, each year, on the Ides of September, a bronze nail was driven into the wall with great ceremony; this day was the anniversary of the dedication of the temple, and the nails made a sacred calendar; the sanctity and importance of this function was increased in the later years of the Empire. On certain annual festivals the statue of Jupiter was freshly coated with the vermilion paint with which it was originally coloured, and the Roman Censors had the honour of thus refreshing the simulacrum of the great deity.

The first temple to the Capitoline Jupiter was dedicated 509 B. C. It was founded by Tarquinius and erected by his son, Tarquinius Superbus, but was not completed until the year following his banishment from the capital. The ornamentation of the temple was in the archaic Etruscan terra-cotta; and so sacred was it, after having been dedicated to this temple, that any fragments which were broken off were carefully deposited in the subterranean treasure-chambers of the temple. The quadriga which stood on the apex of the pediment of this temple, said to have been made at

Veii, was one of the seven sacred relics believed to have been in the keeping of the Vestal Virgins.

The hollow throne on which the figure of Jupiter was seated was of gold and ivory, and in it the gold coin and bullion of

ALTAR OF JUPITER.

the city were deposited, until in 390 B. C. it contained two thousand pounds' weight, and was paid to the Gauls as a ransom for Rome. Pliny is authority for the statement that in 82 B. C., when the gold was stolen by C. Marius the

younger, it amounted to thirteen thousand pounds' weight! It would seem that this amount must have been made up from treasure robbed from other shrines as well. Pliny also relates that the guardian of the temple, to escape torture, took the poison which he had concealed in a ring, when the shrine was again plundered in 55 B. C. It appears to have been the height of folly in the Romans to have repeatedly stored their treasure where experience had proved it to be so insecure, since the great Jupiter disdained or was unable to protect it. These losses were all the more unnecessary as there were public storehouses — *horrea publica* — as early as 122 B. C., and one class of these was used for the safe-keeping of money, plate, and other valuables which the citizens chose to deposit in them. The *horrea* were at first established for granaries only, but later were used for many sorts of merchandise and valuables; and in 1885 some very interesting information concerning them was found in the form of an advertisement for letting some of these buildings, which begins thus: —

"To be let from to-day, and hereafter annually — beginning on December 13 — these warehouses, belonging to the Emperor Hadrian, together with their granaries, wine-cellars, strong-boxes, and repositories. The care and protection of the official watchmen is included in the lease."

Many regulations follow, which are essentially the same as those now in force in the safety and deposit vaults of our own day.

The ancient temple of Jupiter survived the invasions and conflagrations which destroyed so many Roman edifices, until 83 B. C., when it was burned by an incendiary. Many precious offerings were then destroyed, as the temple was marvellously rich in the gifts which had been made as honours or as bribes to the great god of the thunderbolt. From the ruins Marius robbed several thousand pounds of gold. The erection of a second temple was begun at once

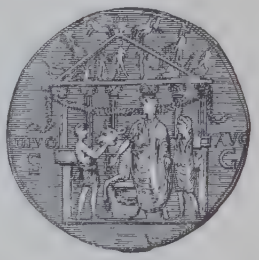
by Sulla; it was finished by Julius Cæsar, restored by Augustus, and burned in 70 A. D. When Vespasian came to the throne, he hastened to begin the third temple, and in his enthusiasm he even aided with his own hands to clear away the rubbish from the sacred site. The only change which the priests permitted Vespasian to make in the original plan of the temple was that of increasing its height. The work must have been done with great rapidity, as the temple was consecrated in the year 71 A. D.

Again, in the reign of Titus, in 80 A. D. the temple was destroyed by a conflagration which raged during three days. Domitian then erected the fourth temple and greatly increased its splendour. He ordered beautiful columns of Pentelic marble to be made in Athens, where Plutarch saw them in the hands of the marble workers; and the same author gives two and a half millions sterling as the cost of the gold plating on the magnificent structure. The bronze tiles of the roof were gilt and the doors to the *cellæ* covered with reliefs in gold, which remained until they were stripped off by Stilicho the Vandal in 390 A. D. In 455 A. D. Genseric, another Barbarian, carried off a part of the tiles, and the remainder were used at S. Peter's by Pope Honorius, in 630 A. D. The mosaics of the pavement, the sculptures of the pediment, and other splendid decorations of this temple have been celebrated as among the best artistic productions of its time.

Since 1835, remains of ancient edifices have occasionally been discovered on the western peak of the Capitoline Hill, and *favissæ*, or subterranean treasure-chambers, which extended under the Temple of the Capitoline Jupiter, have been repeatedly excavated. A large platform on which the temple stood has also been partly uncovered, as well as a smaller platform beside it, discovered in 1875. The original platform of this temple was enlarged in 386 B. C. and the difficulties in accomplishing this, on account of the precipi-

tous shape of the hill, were so skilfully overcome that Livy called the work one of the wonders of Rome, it being necessary to build huge foundations from the plain at the foot of the hill up to the height of the platform.

The original platform was two hundred and seven and one half feet long, and one hundred and ninety-two and a half wide, and must have been much larger at the time of which Livy speaks. But when the Caffarelli Palace was built in 1680, its size and height were much reduced, and the area of the platform, as now known, is one hundred and eighty-three feet wide; it is a little longer than wide. Portions of the great wall of 386 B. C. are discovered from time to time; and the travertine facing on them is rich in inscriptions which prove that the nations of the world contributed to the honour paid to Jupiter by this herculean labour. Commendatore Lanciani, who was present at the discoveries in 1875, says, "One cannot read these historical documents — referring to the inscriptions on the walls — without acquiring a new sense of the magnitude and power of the city. . . . The latest contain messages of friendship and gratitude from kings Mithridates Philopator, and Mithridates Philadelphos of Pontus, from Ariobarzanes Philoromæus of Cappadocia and Athenais his queen, from the province of Lycia, from some townships of the province of Caria, etc."



GARLANDS OF LEAVES ROUND A TEMPLE.

The principal object discovered in 1875 was a portion of an enormous fluted column of Pentelic marble which has every appearance of belonging to the same edifice as the fragments of pillars found by Vacca in the sixteenth century. From one of the capitals Vacca carved the lion for

the Villa Medici, while Vincenzo de Rossi carved from the other pieces figures of prophets and various statues to adorn the Cesi chapel in S. Maria della Pace. Vacca wrote that he found no portions of the entablature, and he surmised that, as the fragments found were near the edge of the Tarpeian Rock, others had probably fallen into the plain below; and this suspicion seems to be justified by the fact that in 1780, pieces of entablature of enormous size and exquisite workmanship were found in Via Montanara, where excavations were made for laying the foundations of a house. These various circumstances seem so in accord with the discovery of the subterranean treasure-chambers, the platform, and the fluted Pentelic column, as to establish the position of the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, and to settle questions which have been pending during three centuries.

On the Arch of Marcus Aurelius, near S. Martina, there is a representation of the Temple of Jupiter with a priest sacrificing before it; the altar is a tripod; there are eight persons surrounding the pontifex, while a bull stands near by, ready for sacrifice.

An interesting fact in connection with the Capitolium is that it was used as a place for the most important advertising. Here were displayed such public documents as State decrees, deeds, and other papers which afforded the citizens full information as to what was being done in the various departments, executive, military, and political. The discovery of this system of giving out this knowledge was made from the *diplomata honestæ missionis*, or the imperial letters-patent given to those who were honourably discharged from the army or navy, bestowing certain privileges on them. These were engraved on bronze tablets, and the original was hung in the Capitolium; while a copy was taken home by the veteran, and some of these copies have been found from time to time, although the originals have disappeared. The copies are found all over the Roman Empire, in every

part from which soldiers were drafted. The clause with which they invariably end is as follows: —

"Transcribed — and compared or verified — from the original bronze tablet which is hung in Rome in the Capitolium." Then follows the designation of the special place in the Capitolium in which the particular tablet was suspended. For example, "On the right side of the shrine of the '*Fides populi Romani*,' December 11, A. D. 52." Or "on the pedestal of the statue of Quintus Marcius Rex, behind the Temple of Jupiter, June 15, 64 — "

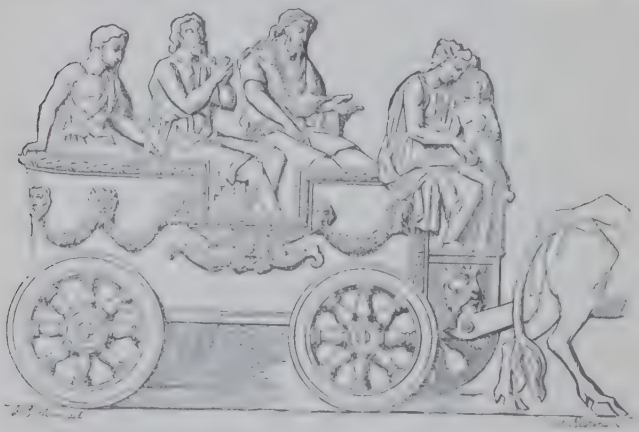
I will not lengthen the list of the inscriptions, but a proper comparison of them proves that they were hung in regular order, according to their dates, until, in the year 93 A. D., there was no space left and a place had to be found outside the temple for this purpose, and they were afterwards hung "*in muro post templum divi ad Minervam*," which is behind the present church of S. Maria Liberatrice.

The very name of the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus has a grand and impressive sound, and the repetition of it brings to mind many solemn and imposing scenes which had place here in the days of Imperial Rome, the magnificence of which is unequalled in our day. Unaided imagination would fail to picture such a pageant as a triumphal procession; but, thanks to Josephus and other writers of his time, we know what the triumph was like which celebrated the fame and conquests of Vespasian and his son Titus, after their return from the war against the Jews, — a war which had raised the son of a "Sabine of mean condition" to the proudest position in the world of his day.

Vespasian returned to Rome in 70 A. D., having been already proclaimed Emperor in Alexandria. Titus was left to complete the conquest of the Jews, and when, a year later than his father, the son also reached Rome, their joint triumph was celebrated. This was the year in which the third temple raised to the great god of the thunderbolt was

completed and dedicated, it being rebuilt with new splendours, and its height so increased as to emphasise its impressiveness.

On the morning of the celebration of the triumph, long before the sun had lighted up the gilded monuments of



CAR BEARING PRISONERS.

Rome, the whole city was astir. Every temple was filled with the perfume of burning incense, and crowds passed in and out, saluting the gods, all on their way to find positions from which the great procession could best be seen; while from every part of Rome, from hill and lowland, within and without the gates, rose the inspiring cry, "*Io triumphe! Io triumphe!*" until even those who, an hour before, had been bowed down with personal sorrows, were roused from all thoughts of sadness and filled with the contagious spirit of the day; until even slaves not only shouted, but felt, each one for himself, that on this day he could sincerely join in the cry, "*Io triumphe!*" such elation was there in the atmosphere of rejoicing Rome.

Meantime the soldiers without the gates, dressed in silken

tunics, with fresh laurel crowns upon their heads, had formed into legions, and, approaching the gates, found a generous banquet prepared for them. The crowds everywhere increased; and the public squares, the bridges, and the banks of the Tiber were alive with restless masses of human beings, all striving so to place themselves that the especial features of the procession might be carefully observed.

Vespasian and Titus first proceeded to the Portico of Octavia, where they presided over the meeting of the Senate and received the congratulations of the Patricians. Then, without the triumphal gate, they breakfasted with the soldiers, sacrificed to the gods, and, being invested with the triumphal ornaments, prepared for the solemn ceremonies of the day.

The spoils of the Temple at Jerusalem and those of the Jewish palaces were borne in the van of the procession; exquisite objects of the finest silver, gold and ivory work, stuffs of richest dye from Syrian looms, and precious, rare jewels were carried by soldiers in purple and gold tunics. A multitude of statues wrought from various metals were followed by elephants and dromedaries, caparisoned in the rich stuffs with which the Eastern tyrants were accustomed to adorn them when they rode in triumph or to battle; all this presented a fair and glorious spectacle which a Christian might behold with pleasure. But, alas! following it came a multitude of human beings, slaves and prisoners of war, whose agonies, plainly writ upon their faces, would have saddened any hearts save those of steel, such as their conquerors bore within their proud and savage breasts.

Among these unfortunates were many whose hearts were broken by their exile from home and friends, with the certainty before them of living as slaves, or dying in the arena; but being thus paraded, behind dumb beasts and lifeless statues, an exhibition to gratify the pride of their conquerors, was the supreme insult that could be forced upon them; and bitterly as they hated the Romans before, a

spirit like that of devils was now aroused in them, and to have killed, each one his man, though he suffered crucifixion for the deed, would have been an inexpressible joy; but even this revenge was denied them. The trumpets sounded; triumph and pleasure were manifest on every side; and the wretched Jews were jeered and mocked by the curious throng. After them were borne many trophies and realistic representations of the struggles they had made to save their sacred temple, their beloved Jerusalem, and their homes.

Happily, these prisoners preceded, and so could not see what would have pained them most of all. The treasures from the very Holy of Holies of the wonderful temple built by Solomon — treasures hitherto concealed from all eyes save those of God's anointed — were now exposed to the gaze and the scoffs of the pagans. The sacred utensils never before touched by profane hands; the tables of the law given on Mount Sinai; the seven branched candlesticks of pure gold; the table of the shewbread, of richest metal; the trumpets that sounded the Jubilee; even the very veil, beyond which no unconsecrated eyes could penetrate; the statues of Abraham and Sarah; of David and the kings of his line, — all, all were here borne upon the shoulders of legionaries, under the blazing light of the Italian sky, to gratify the pride of the conquerors and desolators of the Holy Jerusalem.

But what is this saddest sight of all, this man laden with clanking chains, who walks to certain death with a courage superior to that with which he had defended Jerusalem? Simon, son of Gorias, art thou not happy that the end is so near?

Having feasted their eyes on the terrible humiliation of this great hero, the Romans strive to gain their first glimpse of the imperial pair, father and son, in whose honour this wonderful, living, panoramic spectacle proceeds. The gold and ivory statues of Victory are their heralds, and follow-

ing these the golden chariots of the emperors appear. Vespasian, old, wrinkled, and gray-haired, commands attention and reverence, because he is to-day, in the eyes of pious pagans, the representative of Jupiter the Thunderer. But Titus, standing in his car, the grace of his youthful figure revealing itself in spite of the heavy folds of his imperial toga, laurel-crowned, and bearing his sceptre, surmounted by the bird of Jupiter, seemed, indeed, something more than mortal; and even the vermilion colour of his flesh, such as every victor wore in his triumph, the tint of Jupiter himself, failed to conceal the noble beauty of this conqueror of Jerusalem, whose arms were heavy with bracelets of such metals as gave out sounds more musical than those from Simon's chains.

A PRIEST PRESENTING THE INCENSE-BOX.

Like the chariot of the great god himself, those of the emperors were each drawn by four milk-white steeds, wreathed with laurel, and that of Titus, made of ivory and bronzed gold, set with jewels, flashing in the sun, was most dazzling to behold.

Domitian, and a gay company of noble Romans, mounted on prancing steeds, richly caparisoned, and themselves wearing snow-white togas and olive garlands, were honoured with the privilege of guiding the horses of the triumphal chariots with reins of gold. But in the midst of all this glory and adulation Titus was not permitted to forget that he was mortal; for behind him on his

chariot rode a slave who from time to time repeated the dread sentence, "*Cæsar, hominem te esse memento;*" thus, if in this proudest moment of his life, by any chance he should forget that he must die as certainly as Simon, whom he was about to murder, this solemn truth was sounded in his ear and he knew that an hour must come when he would be as powerless as the veriest slave in all Rome.

After the chariots there filed an endless procession of soldiers and white-robed men, shouting the praises of the emperors, singing of victory, and giving way to the joy of the day as if their existence was all of the happiest. Poor wretches, many of them, whose lives were not worth the down floating on the breeze, if by any chance they should offend a noble patrician! and which of those numberless soldiers could count upon more than a few hours between the morning's feast and the night of death?

We are sometimes told that the triumphal gate by which this great procession passed, was situated where the Hospital of Santo Spirito now stands, and that the triumphal bridge across the Tiber was close beside it; but careful antiquarians, like Middleton, say that its site is unknown. However, Josephus relates that all this splendid concourse passed over into the Campus Martius and on towards the Capitoline Hill; and we wonder if the temples, porticoes, circuses, and fountains were sufficient to distract the thought of Simon, the son of Gorias, for a moment; or if the splendid, four-faced arch of Janus recalled to him the dreadful war he had survived; and in the Via Sacra, walking on the very pavement which we tread to-day, did he lift his eyes to the magnificent shrines, or realise that in the Forum he saw the very heart of Imperial Rome. Soon will he mount to the glorious sanctuary of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, — to him the end of this wearisome march and of his brave, but blasted life.

The temple reached, scarcely a sound is heard, and all

eyes are fixed on the heroic defender of that other shrine, — the Holy Temple of King Solomon, — and as the lictors lead him away, the clanking of his chains sounds like a fiendish death-knell. First, he must be horribly beaten, and then cast into that Tullianum where Jugurtha starved and Sejanus perished, and Saint Peter called up a sparkling spring for the baptism of his gaolers. There the merciful axe of the executioner severs his head from his body, which is dragged away to the Gemoniæ, and is soon seen floating down the Tiber.

Meantime the emperors have left their chariots; and, as night comes on, forty elephants, bearing innumerable lighted candles, illuminate the arcades and porticoes with a blaze of light. On their knees Vespasian and Titus mount the steps of rarest marbles, and enter where numberless trophies of Rome's victories surround them; for doorways, pillars, and walls are crowded with helmets, swords, standards, shields, and other spoils taken by victorious generals, and offered to the great Jupiter, who sits within, his thunderbolt and lance in his hands, and his golden diadem resting above his vermilion brow.

Within the temple the victors pause and await the "*Actum est*," which will announce that Simon lives no more; and soon hearing this, shouted by a lictor, they press into the *cella* of the deity, while the temple and all the space without resound with shouts of triumphant joy, as if, in the slaying of this helpless foe, a great deed had been done! And now, after a prayer of thanksgiving, the gifts which the conquerors have brought are laid at the feet of the great statue. Titus places his own diadem before it and leaves a laurel branch in the helpless hand. Without, the altars smoke, and priests sacrifice whole hecatombs of the most perfect beasts that can be found, while beneath the colonnades of the temple the Cæsars hold a festal banquet for the Senate and court. And this is not the only feast. The

VOTIVE SHIELD.

soldiers are regaled with choicest food and wines such as the gods might envy; Falernian and the wines of Cyprus are measured out to the whole army, and there is no house in Rome where a banquet is not spread with viands which the victors have supplied so liberally that the tables of the poor will be well furnished for days to come.

As we read of this magnificence, and picture all Rome devoted to the pleasure of this night, we cannot forget the Hebrew prisoners, who, in deepest woe, are mourning for Simon, the son of Gorias; they are shedding rivers of tears for him, for their beloved home, their wives and children, while muttering curses deep and dreadful on their pitiless conquerors. Is there a Roman who remembers Simon

except to gloat over his fate? Do any recall those who have before been led in chains, and triumphs by other conquerors as haughty and successful as Titus? Syphax, King of Numidia, Perseus, King of Macedon, with whom they also exhibited his babes, and many others who have dragged their chains along the Via Triumphalis, clothed in the black robe of death, all-merciful to such as they.

O glorious city! Through the deepening shade
A thousand heroes, like the gods arrayed,
And bards, with laurel rustling on their hair,
Walk proudly, and speak grandly, till the air
Is full of solemn majesty, and night
Is halfway robbed by temples marble white.
Yon tramping steeds and yonder glittering wheel
Chariot a Cæsar, while the commonweal
Greets him with pæans, and we proudly march
On toward the Forum. The triumphal arch,
Burning with banners, and the murmuring street,
Deep strewn with roses, till the air is sweet
With floating odors. How the heralds blow
Their wild, delirious trumpets, notes that go
Like swift flames soaring with the fiery tune,
Bursting from clarions blazing in the noon!
Whence come we? from what conquest? with what spoil?
Whence are these captives, bleeding as they toil
Under our load of trophies? Whips, and groans,
And blood, that shames the rose leaves on the stones
For depth of crimson! And the dew of tears
Blistering the noonday dust! O'ercome with years
And toil and grief, there drops the way-worn slave
Under the horses; and the conquering wave,
Above his carcass, pours its glorious flood
Down through the Forum in a path of blood,
Roaring with triumph! Do I wake or sleep?
Thank Heaven, 't was but a dream; a ruined heap
The house of Cæsar and of Nero lies!
And o'er the golden wall the owlet nightly cries.

Thomas Buchanan Read.

The *fauissæ*, or vaults of the shrines of ancient Rome, are interesting both for the knowledge of the customs of their

period which they afford, and for the multitude of "antiques" which have been found in them and are now seen in museums and private collections all over the civilised world. The discovery of one of these depositories for the overflow of ex-votos — one of the customary uses of the vaults — frequently leads to the further discovery of a sanctuary or a place of pilgrimage. All pagan temples were provided with repositories for ex-votos; and as these multiplied and overflowed, the less valuable objects, usually of terra-cotta, were placed in vaults or in trenches dug for this purpose.

One of the *favissæ* opened in the cemetery outside the Porta S. Lorenzo, in 1876, disclosed about two hundred Etruscan and Italo-Greek vases of terra-cotta, besides some pieces of bronze and other curious antiquities, which had probably been hidden in the earth more than twelve hundred years.

Naturally, when these vaults and trenches are discovered by archæologists and officials, the objects found are properly classified and placed in suitable collections; but there is reason to believe that at times they have been opened by men who valued them only for the prices they could obtain for them, and the ex-votos, like the contents of Egyptian tombs, have been scattered far and wide.

The *favissæ* at Nemi, which belonged to the temple of Diana Nemorensis and the sanitarium near by, have made remarkable revelations, in the way of anatomical ex-votos, thousands of which have been found there, as well as near the temple of Æsculapius in the Tiber, already mentioned; but the numbers at other shrines are quite unimportant beside those at Veii, where an ancient and venerable temple was dedicated to Juno, from which ex-votos were carried away and thrown over the side of the cliff on which the temple stood, in such masses as to make a slope from the ridge, one hundred and ninety-eight feet in height.

HEALTH, HYGIEIA.

This mine of ex-votos has been known for more than two centuries, and excavations were made in it in the time of Alexander VII.; and in 1889, when the Empress of Brazil made fresh attempts to explore it, the amount of objects

found is almost beyond belief. No other Etruscan collection of bronzes and terra-cottas has solidly occupied nearly forty-four thousand cubic feet.

In two weeks four thousand objects worthy of preservation were found, while double that number were reburied.

Commendatore Lanciani gives the following list of these ex-votos, each one of which is an expression of gratitude to Juno for the benefits she has conferred, or a hopeful prayer that she may grant her aid to her suffering worshippers.

"The heads of veiled goddesses alone amount to four hundred and forty-seven, of which three hundred and seventy are full faced, the rest in profile.

"The vein contains fifty-two varieties of types: to Bartoli's list we must add busts, masks, arms, breasts, wombs, spines, bowels, lungs, toes, figures cut open across the breast and showing the anatomy, figures, approximately human, or male and female embryos ending like the trunk of a tree with stumps corresponding to the feet, figures of hermaphrodites, human torsos modelled purposely without heads, arms without hands, legs without feet, hands holding apples or jewel-caskets, figurines of mothers nursing twins, beautiful life-sized statues of draped women, with movable hands and feet, rats, wild boars, sucking pigs, cows, rams, apples, and other fruits, and 'marbles.'"

It seems out of place to speak of a temple in Rome with *propylaia*, a *dromos*, sphinxes, obelisks, and cartouches; but since the worship of Isis and Serapis flourished as it did in the Eternal City, the temple of these Egyptian deities became an important edifice, and many fine specimens of Egyptian art have been found in the course of the centuries which have passed since the final attempt to revive its ceremonial at the end of the fourth century of the Christian era. The list of these objects is too long to repeat here; but from time to time, since 1374, — when the obelisk now in the Piazza della Rotonda was found, — many valuable Egyptian sculptures and other objects have been brought to light,

JUNO.

sometimes as the result of a search for them, and again when excavations were made for other reasons: among these the two lions in the Vatican and two in the Capitoline Museum. Since the date last mentioned, at seven periods separated by longer and shorter intervals, important contri-

butions of this kind have been made to museums and private collections from the archæologically fertile soil of Rome.

And these finds, together with the fact that they all came from one locality, moved the Commendatore Lanciani to institute an excavation here, the rewards of which fully vindicated his archæological judgment and instinct.

The work, begun in June, 1883, brought to light on the third day a splendid sphinx, a portrait of King Amasis, which is immensely interesting to Egyptologists on account of its historical associations; the sixth day a fine obelisk was produced, the mate to one which was already in the Piazza del Pantheon; the second has since been erected as a soldiers' monument in front of the railway station, in honour of the brave men killed at Dagola in 1887. Two days later, two of the monsters known as *kynokephaloi*, or apes, were found. But more important than all else was the discovery that the temple itself had been made in Egypt and brought to Rome in pieces, just as we now send much simpler constructions to new settlements in various portions of our country. Piece by piece, colonnades, a double *cella*, obelisks, sphinxes, crocodiles, lions, columns, and all had been brought from Saïs to Rome, where for a time the worship within its walls was far more devoted and ardent than that of the degenerating people on the banks of its native Nile.

Josephus records the destruction of this temple by Tiberius, who cast the statue of Isis into the Tiber, crucified her priests, and burned her shrine; Nero restored it, but in 80 A. D. it was burned.

Domitian again rebuilt it, and several later emperors added to its decorations. At the end of the third century of the Christian era it had a sacred avenue, or *dromos*, with pyramidal towers, or *propylaia*, at each end; six obelisks which undoubtedly flanked the towers and gateway have been found; the avenue led to the double temple, and to it belonged the lions of the Capitoline Museum and those of

ISIS.

the Museo Etrusco Gregoriano, the sphinx of Amasis, and the Tranquilli sphinx in the Capitol, the Oceanus at Naples, the Nile of the Braccio Nuovo, the Tiber of the

Louvre, and several important sculptures now in Florence, besides the altars of Isis, the crocodile, tripod, etc.

Of the temple itself, two columns and seven capitals remain, the former covered with bas-reliefs; most of these are in the Vatican, while blocks of granite from the walls are in the Barberini gardens and the Palazzo Galitzin. Many of these statues bear the marks of violence, while others must have been broken in pieces, the fragments being in some cases very small; the noses and paws of the sphinxes are broken, and other injuries indicate the excitement of a riot. No doubt this occurred in 391 A. D. when an attempt was made to restore paganism in Rome.

There is good reason to believe that the objects found in 1883 were by no means all that were originally buried, as most of the same ground had before been explored, and Commendatore Lanciani is of the opinion that all the objects which could be burnt into lime or otherwise utilised had been taken; but basalt, porphyry, and granite would have been useless to these iconoclasts. This opinion is confirmed by the fact that the marble pedestal of the obelisk was split, as if ready to be moved, while the obelisk, being of granite, is wonderfully perfect.

Another most interesting recent discovery is that of the Temple of Neptune, made in 1878 in the Piazza di Pietra, which came as a surprise, since the digging that revealed it was done in the interest of a drain rather than in that of the ever fascinating search for archæological treasures. The workmen came upon the foundations of an early mediæval church, some columns of *giallo antico* and other fragments, and a proper examination revealed the fact that this church had been constructed with portions of the triumphal arch of Claudius and the Temple of Neptune.

Dion Cassius states that the Portico of the Argonauts, with the Temple of Neptune in its centre, was built in 26 B. C. by Marcus Agrippa, and nearly destroyed by fire in 80 A. D.;

the beautiful ruins which remain are from the restoration of the temple by Hadrian. This temple was noted for its artistic bas-reliefs, which represented the thirty-six provinces of the Roman Empire at the beginning of our era. These were inserted into the basement and formed the pedestals of the thirty-six columns of the peristyle; still other reliefs between the pedestals were ornamented with the different flags, weapons, and uniforms of these provinces. The wing of the temple stands in the Piazza di Pietra in a splendid condition and might be restored in such a way as to make it a magnificent relic of ancient Rome.

But, alas! the bas-reliefs excavated previously have been scattered; three provinces and two trophies went to Naples with the Farnese marbles; one portion of the entablature has been used in restoring the Arch of Constantine; another is used as a seat in the Giardino delle Tre Pile on the Capitoline, while several reliefs are in different palaces in Rome. Well may Commendatore Lanciani call this "an instance of the shameful dispersion of the spoils of Rome;" one can never cease to regret that these treasures, which are met in so many places, could not have lain in their graves until they could have been resurrected by reverent lovers of such antiquities, who would have prevented them from being torn asunder and scattered to the ends of the earth.

BRONZE COIN.

CHAPTER IV.

CHRISTIAN ORATORIES, SCHOLÆ, BASILICAS, AND CHURCHES.

THERE has been much discussion as to the time of the earliest construction of Christian sanctuaries, and while some authorities fix the date at about 230 A. D., under the reign of Alexander Severus, others mention the reign of Gallienus — and the forty years of peace enjoyed by the Christians at this time — as the period when any edifice that merited the name of church was first erected by Christians in Rome.

But we know that from a very early date of our era the few Christians dwelling in Rome held what would very nearly correspond to our idea of "prayer-meetings" in private houses, which are now called "oratories" by writers on these subjects. The earliest of these houses were those of Pudens and his daughters, Prudentiana and Praxedes, and that of Aquila and Prisca, or Priscilla. In the accounts we have of the visit of Saints Peter and Paul to Rome these names are mentioned as the hospitable friends of the Apostles, in whose houses the Gospel was preached.

Paul, in his second Epistle to Timothy, written when the Apostle was before Nero for the second time, mentions Pudens among those who send greetings to the Bishop of Ephesus.

The association of Paul with Aquila and Priscilla is most interesting. They first met at Corinth, whither Aquila had recently come on account of the persecution of the Jews by Claudius; and Aquila being a tent-maker, like Paul, this

fact drew them together, and Paul took up his abode with this couple; but when the Jews of Corinth opposed Paul and severely treated him, he removed to the house of a Gentile. When he left Corinth for Syria, Aquila and Priscilla accompanied him as far as Ephesus, where he left them. Hearing the preaching of Apollos, they took him "unto them, and expounded unto him the way of God more perfectly." Again, in the first Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians, written from Philippi, we find that Aquila and his wife were with the apostle, as he includes their names in the number of those who salute their Christian friends at Corinth. When writing to Timothy at Ephesus, Paul sends his greetings to this couple, who had tarried in the last-named city; and in his Epistle to the Romans, written from Corinth, Paul says "Greet Priscilla and Aquila, my helpers in Christ Jesus." May we not believe with reasonable assurance that these two disciples were of the number who went to meet Paul at the Appii Forum, seeing whom he "thanked God and took courage"?

THE GOOD SHEPHERD.

The Roman house of Aquila was on that part of the Aventine overlooking the Circus Maximus. It is more than probable that here both Peter and Paul taught the Christian faith. In 1776 this oratory was discovered near the present church of S. Prisca. A melancholy illustration of lost

opportunities is afforded by the fact that this most important discovery was passed over with but a slight memorandum. This was made on a slip of paper, now preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, which says that the chapel was decorated with frescoes of the fourth century, representing the Apostles. Copies were made from these paintings, which have been lost, and no attempt has been made to again open this oratory.

The only other knowledge we have of Aquila and Priscilla is that they were buried in the Cemetery of Priscilla, where the family of Pudens were also interred. The intimacy of these two houses after the death of the Apostles is further emphasised by the discovery of a bronze tablet, in 1776, dated 222 A. D., which proves that the house of Aquila and Prisca passed into the hands of a Cornelius Pudens. No facts are known as to the social rank of Aquila, and only a vague confirmation exists of the claim that Pudens was of the noble family of the Cornelii Æmilii; but it has some support in the fact that a certain Gaius Marius *Pudens* Cornelianus was a governor of the province of Tarragona in the early part of the third century.

We have much more exact information concerning the house of Pudens and the church of S. Pudenziana, on the street of the same name, on the southern slope of the Viminal. This church, the legitimate outgrowth of the oratory of Pudens, is believed to be the oldest church in Rome, and was at one time the Christian Cathedral. The remains of the house of Pudens, where Saint Peter is believed to have lived nine years after 41 A. D., — and where it is also taught that he converted and baptised thousands, beginning with the daughters of the Senator Pudens, - were discovered in 1870. A street wall pierced with modern windows is reproduced in the archæological books, but the oratory itself extends under the neighbouring houses. Naturally the principal room of any comfortable Roman house would have

accommodated the very small number of Christians who were in Rome in the earliest years of the Christian era; and as the numbers increased, doubtless the court was roofed over, or covered with an awning, and, being surrounded by a portico or peristyle, it would afford a meeting-place closely resembling a Christian basilica in its arrangement. The court

THE CULTURE OF THE VINE, FROM A FRESCO DATING ABOUT 300 A. D.

would correspond to the nave, the porticoes to the aisles, and the tablinum to the apse. There are many interesting traditions concerning the church of Pudens, so-called until about the year 745 A. D., when it first appears in a document as "Sancta Pudentiana or Pudenziana," by which name it is now known.

The traditions concerning the Apostles and their association with this church are confirmed by the "Liber Pontificalis," and teach that pieces of furniture used by Saint

Peter were long preserved in the house and church of Pudens; and that the son and daughters of Pudens obtained a font from Pius I., all of which was fully accepted at the end of the third century. In the mosaic of the apse there was a figure of Christ holding an open book, one page of which was inscribed, "The Lord, defender of the church of Pudens."

The intimate association of this church with the Apostles endeared it to Christians, who desired to manifest their veneration and love for it; and from the Popes down to the disciples whose names were unknown, gifts were made of greater or less value, until it became a rich and handsome church. At the beginning of the fourth century it was united to the Subura, one of the most thickly populated quarters of Rome, by a portico more than a thousand feet long, built by the prefect of the city, Valerius Messalla.

In 1558 this church suffered what people choose to call a restoration, in the course of which its mosaics, the oldest in Rome, dating from 398 A. D., were much injured. Poussin pronounced these the best specimens of their art in Rome; but Cardinal Caetani, who conducted this sacrilegious business, did not hesitate to remove a portion of the foreground which contained an historical inscription, and even to cut off portions of the figures of two Apostles. During the alterations here a curious incident occurred which Gaspare Celio thus describes: —

"While Francesco Volterra was restoring the church of S. Pudentiana, and building the foundations of the dome, the masons discovered a marble group of the Laocoon, broken into many pieces. Whether from ill-will or from laziness, they left the beautiful work of art at the bottom of the trench, and brought to the surface only a leg, without the foot, and a wrist. It was given to me, and I used to show it with pride to my artist friends, until some one stole it. It was a replica of the Belvedere group, considerably larger, and so beautiful that many believe it to be the

original described by Pliny (xxvi. 5). The ancients, like the moderns, were fond of reproducing masterpieces.

"If the replica of the Pietà of Michelangelo, which we admire in the church of S. Maria dell' Anima, had been found under the ground, would we not consider it a better work than the original in S. Peter's? Francesco Volterra complained to me many times about the slovenliness of the masons: he says that, working by contract (*a cottimo*), they were afraid they should get no reward for the trouble of bringing the group to the surface."

On the Via Latina, in 1857, a church was discovered which had been enlarged from the oratory of the Anician villa by Demetrias, the daughter of the Anicius who was prefect of the city in 368 A. D. The mother of Demetrias was a friend of Augustine and Jerome. The church was dedicated to Saint Lorenzo, and still contains the metric inscription composed by Leo III. in praise of Demetrias.

Thanks to a pagan institution, the *Collegia funeratica*, the Christians were able to have gathering-places where religious services could be held, even during the darkest days, when their brethren were suffering the frightful penalties which their faith entailed. The ancient Romans did not permit the organisation and meeting of clubs and societies for amusements and various other purposes, fearing that such meetings would afford an opportunity for political discussions and revolutions. But for the burial of the dead a brotherhood seemed a necessity, especially as the duties to the departed demanded annual observances of the worship of the Manes. These societies owned cemeteries and buildings where meetings could be held and the Feasts for the Dead celebrated.

The Christians soon formed similar societies, and so far as possible conducted them upon the model of the pagan associations. The buildings belonging to these funeral colleges were called *scholæ* by both pagans and Christians.

The *schola* over a portion of the Catacombs of Callixtus

VICTORY, FROM THE VATICAN.

was probably built by Pope Fabianus, 236–250 A. D., and originally had a roof, but no façade or door that could be closed. Thus it was easy for an enemy to enter and attack

the worshippers, as was done in the time of Valerian, when Sixtus II. and his deacons were conducting a Christian service. A number of lives were taken, and the *schola* levelled to the ground. During the reign of Constantine it was rebuilt, this time with a façade and other improvements, and when later converted into a church, it became a popular place of pilgrimage, on account of those who were buried in the crypts below. It was called the Church of Sixtus and Cæcilia, in honour of two of those who had fought the good fight and now rested here.

Fifty years ago Commendatore di Rossi found that this church was occupied as a wine-cellar, the crypts being used as vaults. Many years passed before this *schola* was again in a condition to be used as a place of worship; but at length, after a thousand or twelve hundred years had passed since the last congregation had assembled there, on April 20, 1882, it was reopened, and is now the property of the Church of Rome. Its effect is rendered intensely solemn by the inscriptions taken from the cemetery and placed upon its walls; few resurrected edifices can compare with it in interest.

The Roman law permitted the Vestal Virgins only to be buried within the city walls; and if the Christians erected oratories or other edifices to commemorate "the noble army of martyrs," they were compelled to place them without the walls. The bodies of those who suffered death during the persecutions could usually be claimed by friends and relatives for decent burial; and in the earliest centuries of Christianity it was not strange that a grave in a catacomb was more desirable for the burial of the Christian dead — especially for the martyrs — than any more public place marked by a monument of any kind. Even from the first, however, there was a pious respect shown to the graves of those who had died for their faith. They were visited on the anniversary of their martyrdom; wreaths were placed

on them, and prayers were offered at these sacred spots, than which no more holy altars could be raised.

When, at length, the Christians were assured of their freedom to worship God as they chose, one of their first aims was to honour their martyrs in a way that all the world should see. To disturb the original graves was held

THE GOOD SHEPHERD AND THE TWELVE APOSTLES.

to be a sacrilege, and the plan that most commended itself to the Christians was that of building above the grave, cutting out the rock over it, and so placing the edifice that the centre of the apse would be immediately above the grave, and the largest part of the church or chapel extend to the east of the tomb.

The importance of this movement will at once be realised by considering a list of the principal churches which originated in this way: S. Peter's, S. Paul, without the walls, S. Sebastian on the Via Appia, S. Agnes on the Via Nomentana, S. Lorenzo on the Via Tiburtina, and many others, some of which have entirely disappeared.

The obligation to build the edifices above these graves was frequently the most serious disadvantage, on account of the positions of the tombs, some of which were so deep down that when the mound or rock above them was cut away and the churches built near them, they were really

sunk in the ground. S. Hermes on the old Via Salaria is the best example of these excavated basilicas. Darkness and dampness made them almost useless, and the only remedy, that of removing the earth from around them, was but partially effective in making them usable. The question of drainage was also a serious one in all these temples, and Pope Damasus, 366–384 A. D., devoted himself to inventing and carrying out a system of drainage for S. Peter's, and at the same time supplying the basilica with pure water. He succeeded, and the Aqueduct of Damasus was restored in 1649 by Innocent X.; while the Aqua Damasiana to-day supplies the apartments of the Pope. For S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura, the same work was done by Pope Pelagius II., 579–590 A. D., and each of these undertakings was described in a poem. That of Pope Damasus was discovered by Pope Paul V. in 1607, and is now in the corridor leading to the Chapel of S. Andrew, in the *Grotte Vaticane*. A recent copy of the second poem is on the side of the mosaic of the apsidal arch in S. Lorenzo, but in reality it was not until Pope Pius IX. cut away a section of a hill near S. Lorenzo that it was lighted and freed from dampness.

When one reflects upon the construction of these large edifices, so placed as to bring one particular grave in a special position in the church, it is at once evident that many other graves must have been sacrificed and probably their contents disturbed by the digging for foundations, and other masonry work. It is difficult to understand why this was esteemed less sinful than to move one honoured body to a position which would have been far more advantageous. The Liber Pontificalis relates that Constantine "raised a Basilica over the tomb of the blessed Peter, which tomb he enclosed in a bronze case. The Altar above was decorated with spiral columns carved with vines which he had brought over from Greece." The haste with which this

building was erected made it a great convenience to use a portion of the walls of the Circus of Nero, on which to rest the left wing, and thus make new foundations for the right wing only.

The marbles and columns were a strange assembly brought from many points. Note-books in existence contain memoranda of one hundred and thirty-six columns; and, as Commendatore Lanciani reminds us, the mention of the twelve columns in the Liber Pontificalis as coming from Greece shows how unfounded must be the frequent declaration that they were from the Temple of Solomon; indeed, this respected archæologist judges them to be "fantastic Roman work of the third century." Constantine's method of building was most inartistic, — a sort of patchwork of marbles, bronzes, and architectural members gathered together, and so arranged as to produce a good general effect, but found to be sufficiently bizarre on examination. For example, Grimaldi relates that he found no two bases or capitals alike; even the architraves and friezes differed between one pair of columns and another, and some were inscribed with the names of Titus, Trajan, and Gallienus, while the bust of Hadrian, surrounded by acanthus leaves, ornamented the capitals of the columns on each side of the first gateway. The fountain of Symmachus, in the centre of the atrium; the splendid Royal or Silver Door, with nine hundred and seventy-five pounds of the precious metal, besides jewels which made the halos around the heads of Saints Peter and Paul, and were a rich prey for the Saracens; the

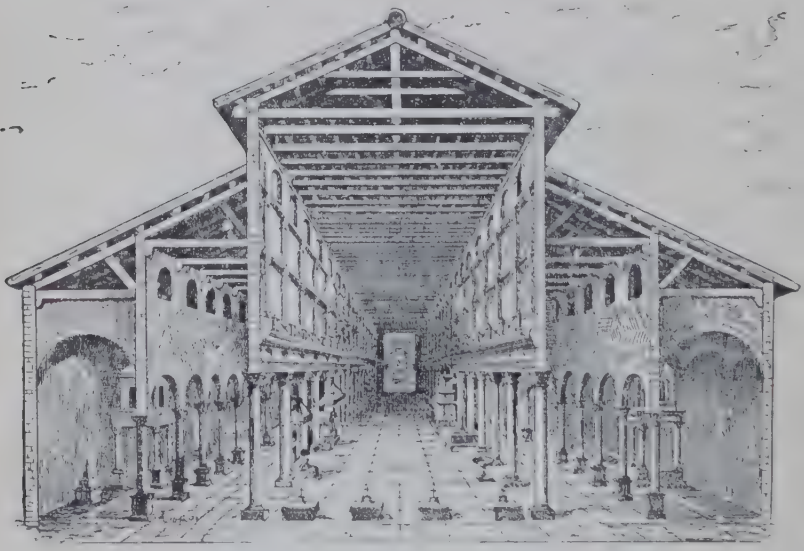
CONSTANTIUS.

triumphal arch between the nave and the transept, glittering with golden mosaics, a description of which, written in 1538, was discovered by Professor A. L. Frothingham of Baltimore; the original chair of Saint Peter, a few panels of which may possibly now be seen in the antique cathedra enclosed in a closet, high in the wall, at the end of the tribune of the present S. Peter's, — these objects, one and all, rendered this basilica of Constantine a rich and most interesting temple. Its destruction in 1506, under Julius II., must ever be regretted by all who are interested in the history of Christianity or archæology. We wonder how the multitudes who witnessed the opening of the new temple in 1615 could have rejoiced over it, except in the sense that one hundred and nine years having passed while S. Peter's was incomplete and in process of erection, it was a joy again to worship beneath a roof where the most sacred relics connected with the founder of the Church were gathered together. Pope Julius II. must have been a man of vast egotism and courage — I had almost said brute courage — when he took the initiative in destroying that splendid work of Constantine which might easily have been a joy to us to-day. It is to the credit of Paul V., Borghese, that his heart failed him when — as the completion of the edifice fell to his time, and the final extinction of the last remnants of the old temple must be perpetrated — he desired countenance and support in this wanton destruction, and summoned a meeting of the cardinals, that they might share his responsibility at this crisis.

Unfortunately the wing which Constantine, in his haste, has rested on the foundations of the Circus of Nero, had already fallen into a sad condition, and by its sinking was pulling the entire basilica to one side. One serious accident had already occurred by the falling inward of a heavy stone while Mass was being said, much to the confusion of the congregation. The end was the same: the last remnant

of the old S. Peter's was doomed; but Paul V. had proved that reverence for that most sacred shrine still existed in the heart of a successor of Saint Peter.

Grimaldi's Diary, which recounts all the happenings in the



INTERIOR OF THE BASILICA OF CONSTANTINE.

work of destruction, as they occurred from day to day, is most valuable; among these the story of the opening of the tombs of the Popes, and the removal of their bodies to other churches in some cases, and to new graves in others, is very interesting, as, indeed, is all he tells of the building of the new basilica. The rules which were binding in the earliest centuries regarding the erection of the churches, which have been mentioned, placed serious difficulties in the way of the basilica above the grave of Saint Paul. The grave of the Apostle was but a hundred feet to the west of

the high-road from Rome to Ostia; and, as the church must be extended to the east, the space at command was very limited. In the course of the excavations for the enlargement and improvement of this basilica in 1834 and 1850, interesting facts were brought to light, and the classic columbaria which were opened within a few feet of the grave of Saint Paul — in which the inscriptions were perfectly preserved — prove that the apostle must have been buried, as was Saint Peter, in the midst of a pagan cemetery; in fact, that of Lucina, a convert to Christianity, who had caused Saint Paul to be entombed upon her private estate. Constantine, in this case, enlarged a shrine already erected by Anacletus; and in 386 A. D. Valentinian, Theodosius, and Arcadius, desiring to extend and beautify this basilica, obtained the consent of S. P. Q. R. — the Senate and the Roman People — that the orientation of the basilica should be changed. They were thus able to extend it to the west, towards the Tiber, as far as was necessary in order to raise the magnificent temple which, for more than fourteen centuries, was — for some reasons — the most interesting Christian church in the world; as it was the only pure basilica still existing on its primary lines. Unfortunately, in 1823 it was destroyed by fire.

In spite of the fact that this basilica was in a position singularly exposed to the ravages of enemies, — it being without the city, and on the high-road to the sea, — so sacred a shrine was it considered that a small city soon surrounded it, consisting of "monasteries and convents, chapels, baths, fountains, hostelries, porticoes, cemeteries, orchards, farm-houses, stables, mills, etc." This exposure of a settlement so rich in booty, which was sadly devastated by the Saracens in 846 A. D., determined Pope John VIII. to protect it by a sufficient fort, and Johannopolis was the result. The existing records regarding these defences are few; in fact, an inscription over the gate to the castle,

which was copied at different periods, is the only authentic document on this subject. The advance portion of these works was dedicated later than 877 A. D.; it was admirably placed, commanding three principal approaches to the city, as well as the Tiber and the tow-paths beside it.

Archæologists find no trace of these fortifications and walls, unless the wall on the south side of the monastery garden rests on the old foundations.

The greatest indifference and even criminal neglect on the part of the monks resulted in the absolute destruction of the beautiful fountain erected in the quadri-portico of Pope Leo I.; the portico itself, six thousand feet long, supported by one thousand columns, which connected the basilica with the Porta Ostiensis, the entrance to Rome; the church of S. Menna, with one thousand columns, which intersected the portico near its centre, and many other most interesting objects and edifices; in short, a fortified suburban city.

The place where Saint Paul was beheaded is well known: it was on the Via Laurentina, near the *Aquæ salviæ*. A chapel was raised here in the fifth century, a part of the foundations of which were discovered under the present church of S. Paolo alle Tre Fontane, as well as some inscriptions in Latin and Armenian. It has been asserted by authorities on such matters that Saint Paul was executed under a stone pine; curiously enough, in 1875, when some excavations were made behind the chapel, a mass of coins of Nero, with several fossilised pine cones, were found. In 1891, Commendatore Lanciani examined the grave of Saint Paul and gives the following account of the experience: "Lowering myself from the *fenestella* under the altar, I found myself on a flat surface paved with slabs of marble, on one of which — placed negligently in a slanting direction — are engraved the words: PAVLO APOSTOLO MART. . . . The inscription belongs to the fourth century."

It is impossible to speak in detail of all the splendid

GOLD MEDALLION OF CONSTANTIUS II.

churches that were built above the graves of martyrs in Rome, of which there were more than fifty at the least computation, and I pass to such as were raised above the homes of the confessors or the houses in which martyrdoms occurred. By this means the law was evaded which permitted no tomb within the city. Such a church was that on the Cælian, built above the house of Saints Giovanni e Paolo — John and Paul — said to have been two martyred brothers of the time of Julian. Two days were given them for consideration of the momentous question as to whether they would sacrifice to idols or pay for their refusal with their lives. They replied, "Our lives are at the disposal of

the Emperor, but our faith and our souls belong to God." They were secretly slain in their own house. According to tradition, the church was built by Pammachius, whose father Bizantis was a friend of Saint Jerome and a most charitable man; it was known as the *Titulus Bizantis* and the *Titulus Pammachii*.

The dwelling of the brothers was not changed, and is now intact, the church having been built entirely above it. The house belongs to the fourth century: fifteen rooms have been excavated, and still others remain unopened. Those that form what may be called the front row open by a broad archway into a street paved with lava. Some of the paintings are well preserved. The oldest of them are such as have before been seen in catacombs only; others, which are in excellent condition, represent a scroll-work of vines, amid which are birds, animals, and genii; a broad frieze shows nude male figures supporting festoons of flowers, while large birds of several sorts stand between the figures; there are pictures of the Passion of Christ, evidently of a later period, — perhaps of the ninth century, — and some which are judged to have been executed at least four centuries later. The date of the original foundation of this church is not known; but it was by no means a recent construction when, in the twelfth century, it was remodelled by the English Pope known as Hadrian IV.

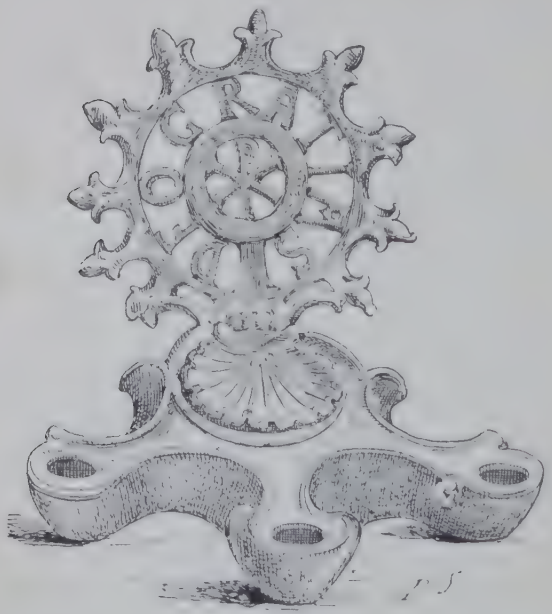
The discovery of this house by Padre Germano was a most fortunate occurrence, and affords an opportunity to visit a spacious Roman dwelling of a very early date. It is difficult to speak of the so-called restoration of this church without expressing one's horror at the crimes committed under that name. It took place at the close of the seventeenth century and no respect was shown to the most sacred objects. For example, an ancient sarcophagus, containing the remains of a Cardinal of note, — Luke, a friend of Saint Bernard, — stood in the vestibule when the "modernising"

took place. It rested on marble lions and bore an inscription, which was fortunately copied by Bruzio before the sarcophagus was cut in two to make it fit into a place where a water-trough was needed, to which use this last resting-place of His Eminence was devoted! Concerning the pagan monuments which the Christians converted to their uses, volumes could be written; for scarcely a place where even two or three could be gathered together was overlooked, while such edifices as were too large to be occupied in their entirety were used in part. Commendatore Lanciani writes: —

"Let not the student be deceived by the appearance of ruins which seem to escape this rule; if he submits them to a patient investigation, he will always discover traces of the work of the Christians. How many times have I studied the so-called Temple of the Sibyl at Tivoli without detecting the faint traces of the figures of the Saviour and the four saints which now appear to me distinctly visible in the niche of the *cella*. And, again, how many times have I looked at the Temple of Neptune in the Piazza di Pietra, without noticing a tiny figure of Christ on the Cross in one of the flutings of the fourth column on the left. It seems to me that, at this period, there must have been more churches than habitations in Rome."

The present church of S. Maria Nova occupies the site of the Temple of Venus; no doubt a church was constructed in a portion of the Baths believed to have been those of Helagabalus, while the Temple of the Sacra Urbs and the heroön of Romulus became the church of Saints Cosma and Damian; in fact, these instances of the conversion of pagan temples into Christian churches — as that of the Templum divi Augusti, devoted to the worship of the Virgin Mary — are too many to be given here, interesting as the subject is. The Roman churches constructed between the beginning of the fourth and the end of the twelfth century are architecturally important, especially as at this period it may be said, speaking

in general terms, that no churches were erected in Western Europe. These churches are principally of the basilica form, which closely follows that of the ancient Roman



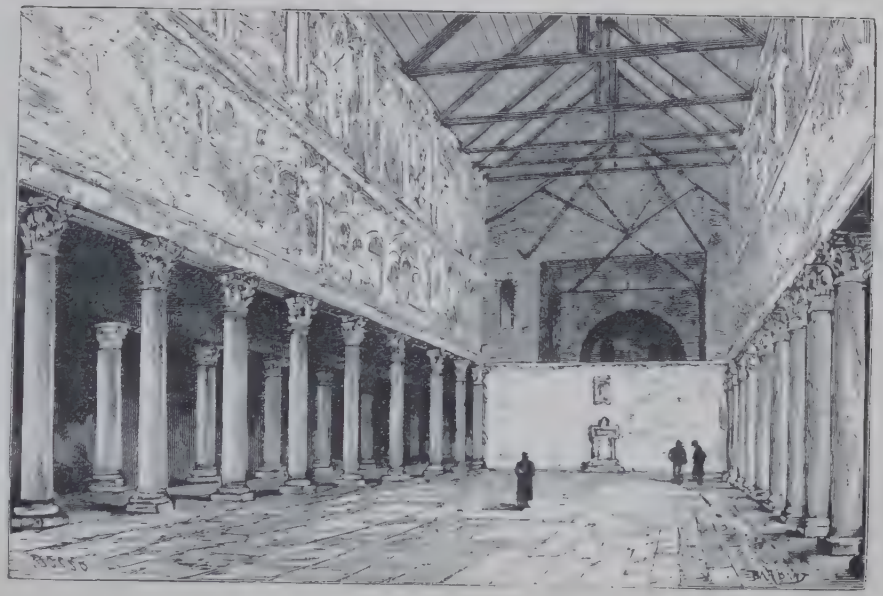
CHRISTIAN LAMP.

dwellings. The only exceptions to this form seem to be the occasional circular or octagonal edifices which were used for baptisteries, and appear, for some reason of which I have found no entirely satisfactory explanation, to have been preferred for churches commemorative of martyrs.

Since neither Christ nor the Apostles had indicated to the early Christians the forms to be observed in Christian worship, nor the proper kind of edifice to be dedicated to

that worship, it most naturally followed that the pagan architecture was so far adopted in new churches as to make it difficult to determine where pagan art was abandoned and Christian art introduced. Is it not a remarkable fact that the pagan basilica was so perfectly suited to the requirements of the Christian ritual as to be still, fifteen centuries after Constantine, a most desirable model for a Christian temple? The altar before the apse, where pagan libations had been poured, and where pagan merchants had taken oaths of fidelity, were frequently consecrated to Christian uses, while the seat of the judge in the tribune of the court was easily converted into the chair of the bishop, and the seats of the assessors well accommodated the presbyters. The most important innovation was the introduction of a separate edifice, the baptistery, of which I shall speak later, and which, together with the rectangular or basilicon church, constituted a most approved ecclesiastical foundation.

The ancient Roman basilicas were used as courts of law and exchange for men of business. At first they were entirely open, the only protection from the weather being a peristyle, or portico. After a time walls were added which enclosed the columns, the only exterior pillars, if any were used, being placed at the vestibule or entrance. This was the form of the ancient edifices which was adopted for the Christian churches. It may be said that the largest area of the basilica consists of three naves, — the broader central portion, and the two side aisles, separated from the centre by a row of columns only. At one end of the central nave the tribune of the judge was thrown out, either circular or rectangular in form; or, the end of the central aisle was cut off and the judge's tribunal placed in the recess or apartment thus formed. Above the side aisles and across the ends of the basilica was a gallery supported by pilasters built up beside the columns of the aisles. This gallery was also decorated by pillars which supported the roof, and



INTERIOR OF THE BASILICA AT BETHLEHEM.

were connected by a balustrade which prevented falling over from the gallery; for in the ancient basilicas, when the judge, prætor, advocates, and other men of distinction were assembled, both men and women filled the galleries to see and hear all that went on upon the floor.

One easily understands how little change was needed to convert a basilica into a complete Christian sanctuary, though, as already indicated, they were at first used as originally built. A vestibule, the principal nave for larger gatherings, the side aisles for the erection of chapels, a portion of the broader nave before the tribune, converted into a choir, afforded a satisfactory church, while the tribune served for the chancel, where the high altar was placed and a canopy raised over it. Seats for the clergy were frequently placed against the wall of the tribune, with a high bishop's seat standing at one end, towards the centre of the church. Not only were ancient basilicas transformed into Christian churches, but new sanctuaries were built on the same plan, although the galleries were frequently omitted.

The greater number of the early Christian basilicas and churches had but three naves or aisles: S. Peter's, S. Paul's, and the Lateran had five. The side aisles were half the width of the central nave and with few exceptions were but one story in height: S. Agnes and the oldest portion of S. Lorenzo had side aisles of two stories; it was also the early custom to have flat wooden ceilings over the central nave, and those churches which have the side-aisles vaulted must be counted as modern, at least in this regard.

The churches built from the beginning of the fourth to the middle of the eighth century were constructed with more care than those of the following centuries. Greater attention was given to the material used, to regularity and consistency, and, although capitals and other members might have been taken from older edifices, yet if the bases and

capitals, or other parts were wanting, new were made, in harmony with the older fragments. Whole colonnades were carefully constructed in one style of architecture, although

INTERIOR OF S. JOHN LATERAN.

the size of the columns might vary somewhat. But later the different parts were less carefully selected; if one column and its capital were a few inches lower than the next, a block of marble was used to fill the space, and not infrequently two or even three styles of architecture could be seen in a base, a pillar, and a capital.

The churches of the ninth to the thirteenth century displayed a vast amount of this architectural indifference, while the windows, which in the earlier edifices were large and frequent, grew smaller and far less in number. To the fourth century belongs the Mausoleum of S Costanza,

and the basilicas of S. Peter's, S. John Lateran, S. Croce in Gerusalemme, and S. Agnese.

Of S. Peter's we have already spoken. The importance of the basilica of S. John Lateran is indicated by the fact that its chapter takes precedence of that of S. Peter's. Before 1870 the Popes were crowned here; and one of the earliest acts of a newly elected Pope is taking possession of this sanctuary, one of the four that has a Porta Santa, — Holy Gate, — which is only opened once in each quarter of the century, the year of Jubilee, and is walled up at other times. Like other edifices of ancient Rome, S. John Lateran has suffered from earthquake, conflagrations, and restorations, until I doubt if there is anything left that can be spoken of as a portion of the original basilica. The very beautiful cloister of this church was probably an addition of the twelfth century. Fergusson calls it "one of the most beautiful things the Romans did;" and its entablature, its most important feature, is of a classical purity worthy of a much earlier time in the constructions of Greek artists.

Of S. Croce in Gerusalemme, almost the same is true. It is claimed, however, that eight of the columns which divide the nave from the aisles were used in the basilica founded by Constantine, and the tomb of black basalt beneath the high altar impresses one as ancient enough to have been that of Saints Cæsarius and Anastasius, as it is said to be. To the fifth century is attributed S. Pudenziana, although some authorities state that the church raised over the oratory of Pudens was erected earlier than this. That of SS. Giovanni e Paolo was built about 400 A. D. and was followed in this century by many other churches, among which the most important and interesting are, S. Maria Maggiore, S. Pietro in Vincoli, S. Stefano Rotondo, and S. Clemente; certainly a remarkable architectural record for a single century, even in Rome.

S. Maria Maggiore is one of the churches which has a

Santa Porta; and, in spite of the changes which are inevitable in the passing of fourteen centuries, — under the administration of popes, cardinals, architects, and donors of

THE VIRGIN. FRESCO IN SUBTERRANEAN BASILICA OF S. CLEMENTE.

varied taste and intention, — this basilica has retained its original form in an unusual degree, and is to-day characterised by a dignified, solemn, and beautiful simplicity, which raises it to an elevated position among the sanctuaries of Rome; in truth, it is to me by far the most satisfactory example of what an ancient basilica was like, because the

innovations can easily be ignored in forming an estimate of the whole. The subterranean basilica of S. Clemente beneath the present church of the same name is one of the most interesting monuments of the early days of Christianity now existing. An inscription fixes its date as 385 A. D., and its discovery in 1857 was a most important event.

I had the privilege of visiting it ten years later under the guidance of Father Mullooly, who conducted the excavation. The upper church is one of the least "restored" churches in Rome, and is most satisfactory, but the original Basilica is indeed a treasure. Beyond the church there are rooms believed to have made a part of the House of Clement, and still further on is a chapel dedicated to Mithras. One of the frescoes is very interesting in connection with the question of the succession of the earliest popes. It represents the induction of Saint Clement into the papal chair, by Saints Peter, Linus, and Cletus, their names being annexed to the representations. There are many paintings and interesting objects belonging to this basilica in spite of its destruction in the great fire of 1084, when Robert Guiscard burned the public edifices in this part of Rome. The arrangement of the choir of S. Clemente, extending down the centre of the nave, as it does, is what is known as the Spanish choir. There are many objections to this, especially when the enclosing wall, or rail of the choir, is too high; but in S. Clemente it is only about three feet. In any case, however, it lessens the area of the nave for the accommodation of the congregation and destroys the beautiful symmetry of a well-proportioned nave.

The churches of SS. Cosma and Damian, S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura and S. Balbina, belong to the sixth century. A most attractive feature of the first is an antique circular temple which serves as a vestibule to the church, which is of most unpretentious construction, having a nave without aisles and an apse only.

S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura is interesting from many points of view: it is believed to have been founded as an oratory by Constantine in 330 A. D., and enlarged by the Empress Galla Placidia in the fifth century: it is thus very old, but has undergone so many alterations that only an experienced student of antique architecture can be trusted to speak of the age of its various parts in detail; the most unusual feature, however, — the open gallery, which corresponds to the triforium in a Gothic church, — is perfectly apparent to the most unlearned as an exceptional departure in the construction of a basilica, and to most observers it is an improvement; however, it did not appeal to the Romans, or they were too conservative to adopt it, as the only other basilica of importance in Rome, that I have seen, with a gallery, is that of Saint Agnese fuori le Mura, which is interesting also as having well preserved its ancient form.

S. Balbina, dedicated by Gregory the Great in 600 A. D., is singular in having no aisles; it is simply a large hall, and makes the impression of having been so from the first.

As I have said, the churches built in Rome after this earliest period were so lacking in uniformity as to do away with the continuity in perspective, which is a necessity in the effect of a basilica. It is not surprising that the supplies of columns, architraves, entablatures, and various other architectural members from the pagan edifices should have been exhausted; but it is astonishing that no Roman sculptors, or even skilled workmen, should have existed in Rome in the fourth century, who could imitate the many exquisite models that were all about them. Such seems, however, to have been the fact, and the buildings from about 600 A. D., when piers were frequently substituted for columns, are far less satisfactory than the earlier churches of which we have spoken. Perhaps the church of SS. Nereo ed Achilleo, built about 800 A. D. is as pleasing an example

of this style as any that exist, the piers being octagonal in form and not so heavy as to give an effect of clumsiness.

The time when towers were first used and the place in which they originated are questions that have not been satisfactorily answered. Fergusson distinctly states that they were not first used in Rome, but he does not give his reasons for saying this. Anastasius is the earliest good authority concerning them, and fixes the date 742–757 A. D. as that of the tower of the Lateran, built by Pope Zacharias; he next mentions one at the Vatican erected by Pope Adrian I., 772–795 A. D. These towers were not connected with the churches, but made a picturesque addition to the group of buildings about them, which were domestic rather than ecclesiastical in character. Leo. IV., 847–855 A. D., erected a bell tower at the church of S. Andrea Apostolo; but the major part of the church towers in Rome were probably not erected before the eleventh and twelfth centuries, when they became quite common.

The Roman towers are square and of a simple, pleasing architecture; sufficiently high to be noticeable and to impart a certain dignity to the edifices to which they belong, but not so commanding as to detract from other structures near them.

The churches of Rome may be spoken of in three classes: first, the basilicas, to which we have briefly referred; second, a multitude of sanctuaries, which, for want of a better and more descriptive term we simply call churches, meaning all such edifices as have been erected from the earliest of their class until the present time; and third, the circular churches, which, in some regards, are the most interesting of all. The tombs of the Romans will be spoken of later, in more detail, but it is necessary to refer to them here, as they were undoubtedly the origin of the Christian Circular Church. In ancient days these Roman tombs were very small, but were gradually extended, until, before the age of Constantine

they were much enlarged, and some specimens which still exist are most imposing structures. The round churches are also known both as baptisteries and churches, and during the time when the adapted basilicas were the principal places for Christian worship, they seem to have been regarded as almost unsuitable for the more sacred offices of the Church; in fact, they may almost be termed the business place of the Church, while sacraments, the viaticum for the dying, baptism, and marriage, — when considered as a religious rather than a civil ceremonial — as well as the burial service, were all celebrated in the circular church, which might well be termed the sacramental temple of the Christians. One of the reasons given for the almost unexceptional existence of baptisteries beside churches is that when the font or cistern used for baptism was large, it would have been most inconvenient in the basilicas, especially in those where the choir occupied a portion of the nave; and, again, the use of a separate building obviated the necessity for an unbaptised person to enter a church. Eusebius makes a most important matter of the gravity of this consideration when speaking of the Church at Tyre. But it would seem from the apparently superior sanctity of the baptistery that this reason lacks weight. As so large a part of the consideration of this form of architecture belongs to the subject of burial-places and tombs, I shall but remark here, that it became customary to erect a baptistery beside any church of importance, or to erect the church near a tomb which could be converted to the purposes of a baptistery, and it was not until much later that the font was introduced into the church and all the holy offices had place under one roof. The absolute date of these changes cannot be given, but they were probably completed before 590–604 A. D., the time of Gregory the Great.

We have reason to believe that not only the large and important, but even the minor churches, had, at first, a

separate baptistery. Anastasius mentions those of S. Anastasio and S. Susanna, where it would seem that the first entirely new baptistery was built, the others being older buildings adapted to this purpose, as we have indicated. This ancient writer speaks especially of the baptistery of S. Andrea Apostolo as unusually large.

The circular churches of special interest now remaining in Rome are those of S. Helena, or the Torre Pignattara, and those of S. Costanza, S. Stefano Rotondo, and S. Teodoro. The tomb of the Empress Helena was converted into the church of SS. Peter and Marcellinus in the fourth century; the catacombs of these saints can be entered from the church. The present chapel is modern, and there has been some discussion as to its having been anything more than a tomb in the time of Constantine; but Anastasius says that this Emperor provided it with an altar of silver and gave two gold patens, three gold chalices, twelve silver candelabra, and a gold "corona," used as a chandelier from which lamps were suspended, as well as other vessels and furniture such as are suitable only to divine service. The church of S. Costanza, on the Via Nomentana, was erected by Constantine over the sarcophagus of his daughter Constantia, and is a most interesting monument for many reasons. Its mosaics are very important, and it illustrates, as no remaining tomb does, the "forum," which was probably before the entrance to all ancient tombs of this order. In this instance it was an oblong space with circular ends, and surrounded by arcades. Its size was five hundred and thirty by one hundred and thirty feet, and though very much ruined its arrangement could be made out when Fergusson wrote of it. S. Stefano Rotondo, on the Cælian, was probably built in the fifth or sixth century. All the pillars were taken from older edifices, but no satisfactory account of its original plan — the arrangement of its columns, the manner of supporting the roof, etc. — can possibly be

CHRISTIAN SYMBOLS.

given on account of the many changes which have been made here. S. Teodoro, familiarly known as S. Toto, is the church to which children were taken to be blessed after vaccination. Doubtless this custom was instituted by an early Pope as a ceremony which might replace certain pagan rites and afford comfort to mothers not yet accustomed to

the simplicity of Christian worship. What other edifice occupied this site is not known; there are extensive burial-vaults beneath it, and Burns says: —

"The brickwork of which it is constructed appears to be ancient, and may very possibly belong to the Imperial age. An interesting architectural feature connected with the circular churches is the illustration they afford of the difference which characterised the use of columns in pagan and Christian circular edifices.

"The pagans apparently gave little attention to the usefulness of internal pillars; all their columns were on the exterior, and even in the Pantheon, where columns are used for decoration, they are made to do no work. The Romanesque architects, however, used them habitually to support domes, as they had so freely been used in the rectangular basilicas. The circular edifices of the Christians, too, were much less ornamented externally than those of the pagans, which had been decorated with peristyles and porticoes. In the very earliest of the Christian churches a few traces of these are discovered, but they were gradually made perfectly plain externally. Fergusson remarks: 'The temples of Christians were no longer shrines to contain statues, and to which worship might be addressed by people outside, but had become halls to contain the worshippers themselves, while engaged in acts of devotion.'"

The very ancient pavements have almost disappeared from Rome, and of the few remaining fragments those of S. Pudenziana are believed to be very old. In the subterranean chapel of S. Silvestro, beneath the church of S. Martino ai Monti, there is a portion of a pavement of black and white stone, in very simple design, which has the appearance of great antiquity: this chapel is supposed to have once been included in the Baths of Trajan, and to have been used as a chapel by S. Silvestro, in which he held the Council of 325 A. D. in presence of Constantine, when confirmation was given to the acts of the Nicene Council.

At several churches, among which S. Stefano, in Via Latina, and S. Alessandro may be mentioned, there are certainly parts of very ancient pavements. That in the

chapel of S. Zeno in S. Prassede is probably the original one, and foreshadows the fine mosaic work of later centuries.

In S. Clemente, in the lower church, a good example of the "slab pavement" was uncovered. This pavement was made of slabs of marble of various colours, laid in a semblance of a pattern; doubtless many such pavements were taken from ancient edifices and used in later ones, so that any decisions as to the age of such remnants as are found must be made on somewhat doubtful premises.

A far more interesting and satisfactory study is that of the mosaic pavements which are of a later age, but by no means modern. In fact, the mosaics of the pavements, of the semi-dome of the apse, of certain wall spaces, of the triumphal arch which separated the nave from the sanctuary, of the spandrils, of the bands which run above the colonnades on each side of the nave, and in some cases of the vaulted roofs, present a world of rich decoration, of marvellous colour, of symbolism, and of historical illustration, the value and wonder of which can scarcely be exaggerated. The rich marbles, — *giallo antico*, porphyry, serpentine, *verde antico*, and a great variety of others, — either covering the lower walls with plain slabs, or arranged in patterns, and the paintings in fresco or in tempera above, furnish a system of decoration in the Roman churches — especially after the twelfth century — which must command the admiration of all lovers of art. In spite of the many and just criticisms to which it is subject, — as that of being too elaborate and therefore confusing; or as introducing such a variety of subjects, sacred and profane, as to render it bizarre and oftentimes grotesque, — it is most effective and interesting.

We must not forget that the most imposing of these polychromatic decorations were made when pictures were the books of the great numbers who could not read, and the importance of them appealed to those who erected churches

far more forcibly than did the architectural effects which would have been possible without them; and if we consider them from this point of view, the teaching of the mosaic pictures goes far towards affording a compensation for much that we otherwise criticise.

The mosaic pavements of the Roman churches were varied in artistic qualities and in workmanship, but they were adapted to the architecture which surrounded them, and followed original designs. They often represented Scriptural subjects, but a great number were made up of symbols. The picture in the semi-dome of the apse was very frequently that of Christ seated in glory, either alone, or surrounded by saints, while that of the triumphal arch was usually a subject from Revelation; the centre of the arch was occupied by a figure of Christ in the act of blessing, or of a lamb enthroned, while the spandrils were filled by the symbols of the evangelists: the book, the winged lion, the ox, and the eagle, — which were used from the earliest days of Christianity, — the seven lamps, the four angels, and the twenty-four elders. The symbolic representations — the cross, the fish; lamb, dove, an olive leaf, the palm and garland, the anchor and lyre, a ship under full sail, a rock, a pitcher, etc. — were combined in so many different ways, and made to appear so decorative, that we must accord a phenomenal skilfulness in this ornamentation, to the early Roman artists, which commands our admiration. A vine loaded with grapes, symbolising the Lord's Vine, or the Church, was painted on the vault of Domitilla's tomb.

The larger and more involved symbols from the Old Testament were the Fall, with Adam, Eve, and the Serpent, reminding men of their natural sinfulness; the passage of the Red Sea, Daniel in the lions' den, Noah in the Ark, welcoming the returning dove, etc., taught trust in God, even in the midst of great difficulties; Moses striking the Rock was calculated to inspire confidence in the divine

watchfulness which provides for human needs: while the story of Jonah, which was a great favourite, was relied on for a variety of useful lessons.

Some of the miracles of Christ were greatly in favour, as the Raising of Lazarus, and the Feeding of the Multitude, while Peter's Denial, the Delivery of the Keys to Peter, the Washing of the Disciples' Feet, the Woman at the Well, and other historic scenes from the life of our Saviour were almost miraculously multiplied. An especially popular representation of Christ presented him in his office of the Good Shepherd, either bearing a lamb, or sitting in the midst of a flock with the shepherd's pipe and staff. The Temptation on a High Mountain, and Christ surrounded by his Disciples, were frequently repeated.

THE CHRIST.

Some representations are extremely puzzling, and it is difficult oftentimes to decide whether a pagan or a Christian deity is before us; as, for example, pictures in which Christ wears a tunic and a Phrygian cap, and plays a lyre, while wild beasts and birds listen attentively and are apparently charmed by the gentle music.

God, the Father, is represented as surrounded by clouds, and is symbolised by a hand stretched forth from the heavens above. Many mosaic pictures in apses, and in other elevated positions, make an impression of great dignity

and solemnity: while the smaller designs, arranged as they frequently are, in the midst of conventional vines, garlands, and scrolls, are far more effective and satisfactory than one could expect them to be, when their simplicity and inartistic promise are considered. For example, I recall a mosaic medallion, surrounded by a grape-vine with bunches of fruit, the centre having the crossed keys, the all-seeing eye, and a crown, so arranged and coloured, on a gold ground, as to produce an effect which could not have been counted upon in the least, for certainly whatever thoughts the sight of these symbols might inspire, no artistic suggestion could be attributed to them.

The church of SS. Cosma and Damian, decorated by Felix IV., 526–530 A. D., has still remaining in the apse — in spite of the restorations of the seventeenth century — a mosaic picture of Christ, to whom Saints Peter and Paul are presenting Saints Cosma and Damian, while Felix holds his church in his hand, and Saint Theodorus is a witness to the whole scene.

This mosaic has been partially restored, and the figure of the Pope is attributed to the seventeenth century, with much reason; but the colossal Christ has strong claims to being more than twelve centuries old, in original design at least. It is one of the best-preserved mosaics in all Rome, and is called by Kugler "one of the most marvellous specimens of the art." There are many kinds of mosaic work used in Rome, and, like other arts, this was derived from the Greeks, who used it from very early days, when it was simply a cement into which worn pebbles were rudely inserted.

Later these pebbles were arranged in crude patterns, and in the next stage square bits of prepared stone were fixed in the cement, and gradually the perfection of the art was reached. Pliny gives much information regarding mosaics, and says they were introduced into Italy by Sulla, 85 B. C.

After the squared bits of stone, which style was called

opus tesselatum, came the *opus sectile*, in which the bits of marble were cut in shapes to suit the various parts of the design. Under the Empire this kind of mosaic attained great perfection and magnificence, and was known as *opus Alexandrinum* and *opus scutulatum*. The *opus spicatum* is sometimes incorrectly called a mosaic; but it is simply a paving made by placing small bricks on their thinnest side in the familiar design known as the "herring-bone pattern." But by far the most splendid mosaics were those made of bits of brilliantly coloured glass, which had all the appearance of emeralds, rubies, sapphires, etc., and were called *tesseræ*. This style obtained, and was profusely used in the later years of Imperial Rome, not in floors, but in walls and ceilings.

The first record of glass mosaics occurs in connection with the Theatre of Scaurus, 58 B. C. Most elaborate and exquisitely shaded pictures were made in this mosaic; that of the three doves sitting on the rim of a gold bowl, originally in Hadrian's Villa, and now in the Capitoline Museum, is a specimen so widely known that it may be well to mention it, especially as it is a particularly fine and delicate specimen of the use of *tesseræ*, and, unlike those in churches and other edifices, is so placed as to be easily and minutely examined.

The glass *sectile* mosaic, in which each bit was cut to suit the place it was to fill, was absolutely gorgeous in its effect. The glass used in this and in the *opus tesselatum* is not transparent, but through the action of metallic oxides has been rendered very brilliant in colour. One may see the fine mosaics in process of manufacture, to-day, in the Studio del Mosaico, at the Vatican, where two thousand differently tinted enamels are used; and in watching it one feels that it better merits the name of an art than that of a manufacture. An old and curious mosaic made by a combination of marble and glass, representing tigers with

ANCIENT MOSAIC OF CHRIST.

their prey, made a portion of the remarkable decorations of the ancient church of S. Andrea in Cantabarbara; it was later removed to S. Antonio Abate, which is now dismantled, and doubtless this singular mosaic is in the safe-keeping of some museum.

When mosaics were too costly to be had, fresco painting was used, and very ancient examples remain in many Roman churches; but they have, as a rule, been repainted to such an extent as to detract much from their interest and value.

Some of the oldest are seen in S. Prassede; they are stiff and dry in style, and while they resemble the mosaics of the same church, are far less interesting; they probably date from the first quarter of the ninth century. Pliny, who died in 79 A. D., writes that in his time the best painters devoted themselves to easel pictures, leaving wall painting to men of lesser talent; in fact, the existing examples suggest that artisans, rather than artists, decorated church walls and ceilings in the earliest centuries of the Christian era, no doubt frequently copying the works of the best masters. In the chapter on Roman painting I shall speak more in detail of wall and ceiling decoration, both of early and more recent days. It is probable that no church was erected during six or seven centuries after the reign of Constantine that was not partly, and in many cases largely, constructed from the wreck of pagan edifices. I have referred to the columns, which were sometimes uniform in style and size, and again of a composite arrangement; the blocks, ornamented with crosses, which were frequently placed upon capitals, and supported arches, were original, and were much used in the fifth and sixth centuries; the cross was also carved on bases, as was seen in those excavated in S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura in 1859, where the capitals of the choir, probably dating from 578–590 A. D., display the same design. In S. Clemente there are some unusual and remarkable capitals at-

tributed to the sixth century, which now make a part of the monument to Cardinal Venerio. Speaking of these, Alexander Nesbitt says: "They are quite Byzantine in style, and are admirably well executed in white marble, the outer portion being cut quite free from the inner, so that the effect is that of a well-shaped capital placed within a basket. . . . The shafts are covered with branches and leaves of ivy very well executed in low relief. The style of these capitals is *like nothing else in Rome*, except a window and the choir enclosure of S. Clemente." The roofs of the wider naves and transepts in the Christian basilicas were of wood, while the narrower aisles, chapels, confessions, etc., were vaulted in brick. The nave of S. Pietro in Vincoli, 442 A. D., is, however, vaulted in three compartments. The apses were covered with a semi-dome, with no exception that I have discovered; baptisteries and all circular and octagonal edifices were usually covered by brick domes, but not invariably.

Few ancient doorways still exist, and these were constructed from portions of friezes and cornices taken from pagan structures. Two good examples are those of the chapel of S. John the Baptist at the Lateran, and a very interesting one in the chapel of S. Zeno at S. Prassede. The first probably dates from 461–467 A. D., and the appearance of the mouldings accords with the architecture of this period, while the bronze doors are inscribed to the honour of Pope Hilary, who is said to have made this chapel, and that of S. John the Evangelist, from two apartments in the house of the Emperor Constantine. Other ancient bronze doors, very rich in design, were taken from the Curia, or Senate-house, by Alexander VII., and are now at the principal entrance to the Lateran. In the seventeenth century, in course of changes in this basilica, these doors were lengthened by strips of bronze added to both top and bottom. In the second doorway, in S. Prassede, the capitals of the

columns and the door-case are more modern, but the shafts of the columns and the bases are antique. There is no doubt as to the date of the construction, and it does not appear to have been changed. It was built by Pope Paschal I., 817–824 A. D. One shaft is of black porphyry, and the other of a black and white granite, which is rare; they are unequal in size, and the bases are of white marble of the antique Corinthian style. The ornamentation of the jambs is in a sort of knot-work, seen on fonts, crosses, etc., which date from 700–1000 A. D.; it is feebly executed, and is in sad contrast to the beautiful fragment of antique cornice which makes the impost. Perhaps no better example of the peculiar conditions of architecture in the ninth century than this at S. Prassede exists in all Rome. Other doorways composed of ancient fragments still remain, but most of them have been changed from their original state.

Perhaps the doors in the Lateran of which I have spoken, the gift of Pope Hilary, as Anastasius tells us, are the only specimens remaining that were made in Rome in their period, when doors were frequently brought from Constantinople, like those of the old S. Paul. I have spoken of the silver doors of S. Peter's, and there were other splendid doors of silver and ivory, as well as others carved in wood, like those of S. Sabina, which have been attributed to the fifth, and the following centuries, as late as the ninth; probably the earliest dates are the more correct.

But the doors of the ancient Temple of Romulus, now making a part of the church of SS. Cosma and Damian, 526–530 A. D., are of great interest. This temple was built by the Emperor Maxentius, early in the fourth century, in honour of his deified son Romulus, who died at the age of four years. In the time of Urban VIII., 1623–44, the doorway was moved, in order to place it directly opposite to the entrance of the inner church, the ancient *Templum Sacræ Urbis;* it is a very handsome example of the architectural

productions of its time; the columns of red porphyry support a rich carved entablature, which Middleton attributes to

BRONZE DOOR ORNAMENT.

some edifice older than the Temple of Romulus; the cornice, though too profusely ornamented, is of exquisite workmanship; the doors themselves were also taken from an earlier

building, and are important in a study of Roman metal work, although many of the smaller ornaments are now missing; these doors are much like those of the Pantheon, which are probably the only bronze doors in Rome still in their original place.

No Greek temple had windows originally: those in the Erechtheum were introduced in the time of Constantine, when it was used as a Christian Church; but the Roman temples had windows from an early date, as is seen from a representation of the Temple of Concord, on the *First Brass* of Tiberius, dated 36 A. D. Windows were important to the Roman temples, since they were essentially depositories of the products of Greek art, and other treasures brought to Rome from the older and more artistic nations against which the Romans waged successful warfare. Many of the windows were marble slabs, pierced in simple, conventional designs. These were left with no glazing of any sort; or were filled in with coloured glass, the earliest examples of "stained" glass windows, and in some cases an open bronze grating of a simple design was used, not unlike those of the *cancelli*, or marble lattices. In the early basilicas windows were numerous and large; S. Paolo fuori le Mura had one hundred and twenty windows, each one twenty-nine by fourteen and a half feet in size! S. Peter's had eighty large windows; and S. Croce in Gerusalemme was no exception to this rule, while in S. Sabina the clerestory windows were fourteen and a half feet in height, about half as much in width, and twenty-six in number on each side. All these windows, if open, would in the climate of Rome be intolerable; but for a long time immense windows were placed over each space between the columns, until at length in the Christian churches a portion of them were filled up, and frequently those that were left were much reduced in size.

We do not know when mica, talc, glass, or some transparent substance was first used; but Philo Judæus speaks of the

THE THREE YOUNG MEN IN THE FURNACE.

doors of a palace of Nero's being closed with stones as transparent as glass, and Martial, who died about 104 A. D., frequently mentions glass windows. From this period to the twelfth century there is ample proof in the writings of various authors that, while glass was used, thin stones were used as well, and sometimes both in the same edifice. There were many greenhouses at a very early date, and the use of glass was well understood. Although I find no authority for the exact date of the introduction of glass windows, we know that glass was used at Rome in the third century for various vessels and in decorative mosaics, and it would seem more improbable that it was not used for windows than otherwise, especially as we are told of greenhouses and window gardening. Here and there beautiful old pierced slabs are seen, some being rabbeted, and occasionally a bit of talc adhering to the rabbet, which seems to warrant us in calling them windows; but as the same sort of pierced slabs or *cancelli* were used for balustrades and other architectural purposes, it is not always easy to decide upon their former place and office.

The vaults beneath the altars of early sanctuaries, in which bodies of saints and martyrs were placed, were known as confessions, and varied in size from the small space in the vaults of S. Sabina and SS. Nereo ed Achilleo to the larger one of S. Peter's. For even in the time of Adrian I. Anastasius speaks of stairs which descended into the confession, and says that the Pope lined it with plates of gold, decorated with subjects in relief, which weighed three hundred pounds, and his successor, Leo III., 795–816 A. D. made a gold pavement to the confession, using four hundred and fifty-three pounds and six ounces of gold. We read of confessions made by Pope Hilary, which do not seem to have been underground, but were shrines of silver and placed in the chapels which he built. At all events, the confessions still existing are so modernised that it is ex-

tremely difficult to speak of them with confidence, although we know that in the early churches they were most important features and much reverenced.

The only antique font that can be spoken of in detail is the splendid vase of porphyry in the Vatican Museum, once the font of the Lateran. It exceeds forty-seven feet in circumference, and Anastasius says that Saint Silvester, 314–336 A. D., used three thousand and eight pounds of silver to cover the vase inside and out; that in the centre he placed porphyry columns which supported a gold "phiala" weighing fifty-two pounds, in which was placed the Paschal candle. On the lip was a lamb of gold, weighing thirty pounds, and water flowed from its mouth; on the right of the lamb was a figure of the Saviour, five feet high, which weighed one hundred and seventy pounds; on the left a figure of Saint John Baptist, weighing one hundred pounds, besides seven figures of stags pouring out water, each weighing eighty pounds; and all these figures in silver. There has been much doubt expressed as to the correctness of this account, and although Anastasius frequently discourses of lamps, statues, crosses, and crowns, all in silver, which decorated the baptisteries, he speaks of no other font which in any sense rivalled this of S. John Lateran. Still, when the reliability of the statements of Anastasius are questioned, it is confidently asserted that he wrote from authoritative documents. The altars of the earliest Christian churches were of wood, — that of the Lateran, the Cathedral of the Bishop of Rome, was constructed of boards, and there are several good authorities who say that up to the time of Saint Silvester, 314–336 A. D., wooden chests, which were moved from place to place as the Bishop had need, were the only altars in use. At all events, the Christians did not take the pagan altar as a model, but used either a table or a tomb, the latter coming into use when by persecutions they were driven to the catacombs to hold their religious services.

The oratories of the catacombs were narrow, and did not admit of any objects not absolutely necessary; and the use of the "arcosolia," or altar-tombs, with which the most revered martyrs were honoured, might well have been suggested by the text: "I saw under the altar the souls of them that were slain for the word of God, and for the testimony which they held." Revelation vi. ix. And when the freedom of the church permitted the erection of basilicas and new altars, the tomb form was still used, endeared to the early Christians as it must have been by their associations with it, and with the martyrs whose sufferings and steadfastness were fresh in the memory of those who no longer feared persecution. In some very ancient mosaics, notably at Ravenna, probably dating from 451 A. D., altars are represented as tables with slender legs. The wooden altars were not superseded by stone until about the fifth century, and as a canon made in 509 A. D. provided that no altar should be consecrated that contained no relics, this naturally emphasised, or made the tomb altar a necessity; for in those years the division of the body of a saint was deemed sacrilegious. Altars of a later date frequently include a beautiful sarcophagus of porphyry, serpentine, or some rare and handsome marble, in their construction; but these could not have been made until after the custom of removing bodies from the places of sepulture to the churches was established.

Anastasius speaks of the richness of the decoration of altars, and relates that Constantine used two hundred pounds of gold on that in the sepulchre of his mother; and at S. Croce in Gerusalemme he lavished two hundred and forty pounds on the altar; while Pope Hilary and Leo III. used less than half this amount on the altars which they raised. Anastasius does not mention a canopy *ciborium*, or baldachino, over any altar earlier than the time of Symmachus, 498–514 A. D., who erected at S. Silvestro such a canopy of

silver, weighing one hundred and twenty pounds. They soon became common to all churches, their cost and elegance being much varied. At S. Peter's there was one of silver-gilt, which weighed two thousand seven hundred and four pounds and three ounces; that of silver, at San Paolo fuori le Mura, weighed two thousand and fifteen pounds; and in the Lateran the canopy weighed but one thousand two hun-

THE GOOD SHEPHERD DIVIDING THE SHEEP FROM THE GOATS.

dred and seventy pounds, although this was the mother and head of the early churches of Rome. These three remarkable *ciboria*, were erected by Leo III., 795–816 A. D. Canopies were also made of marble in later years, and were extremely elaborate and elegant. Probably the oldest baldachino now in Rome is that of S. Clemente, above the altar where the remains of Flavius Clemens and SS. Clemente and Ignatius are reverently preserved. The canopy rests on marble columns, two being of *pavonazetto* and two others of *bigio*. Fastened to the roof of this structure is a chain to which the *ciborium*, made in the form of a dove, and containing the Eucharist, was fastened, the chain being so arranged that the sacred vase could be lowered to the altar, and again raised to safety above, in the top of the canopy.

One noticeable feature of ancient Roman architecture is the reliance upon size for effect; the transparency of the intention is interesting; and the designers constantly attained

superiority in so planning their edifices, and so arranging their ornamentation, as to give an appearance of magnitude, even greater than the actual size of the structures would have conveyed. But their architecture had neither repose nor harmony, two indispensable charms in the perfection of this art: they attained variety as well as space, sometimes by crude methods, and in their earliest efforts paid no apparent attention to proportions.

Though the early Roman architecture never passed beyond transitional art, which laid the foundation for Gothic artists to work upon, it initiated many methods of decorative construction. For example, while in the great edifices of the Romans, in the spacious halls of their baths and basilicas, the arches rested on piers, a beautiful Corinthian column was placed in front of each pier: these columns were useless in the constructive sense, since their removal caused no weakening of the edifice; but they were immensely decorative, and could be defended for that reason alone, since they had the appearance of supporting something, and therefore apparently complied with that fundamental law of decoration, that everything in the nature of ornament which is, or which actually simulates, a constructive device is permissible. To the Romans must be ascribed the first use of the true arch, as seen in the so-called *Cloaca Maxima*, constructed under one of the early kings, and the most ancient arch in Europe, now more than twenty-four centuries old.

That so durable an arch could be thus constructed, proves that its use was already perfectly comprehended; and it is more than probable that this great sewer, and other works of magnitude in Rome, were executed under Etruscan advice and assistance. At all events, this piece of Roman engineering merits a place among the most wonderful achievements of the world, when we remember that it was founded on marshy, unstable ground, with a skill which

apparently insured its permanence for all time, since it still fulfils the purpose of its construction.

When we consider Roman art during the kingly period, while Rome remained, as she is sometimes called, "an Etruscan city," under Etruscan influence, and remember the monuments then erected to her lasting glory, it is difficult to explain the lack of such achievements during the five centuries of the Republic. It was a season of prosperity, peace, and power; and yet we have not even a tradition of a monument of that era which was in any sense commensurate with what had preceded, or was to follow, this long and wearisome time, in which neither literature nor art were cultivated within the Eternal City.

It was later, in the Imperial period, when through conquest she became the mistress of the world, and the treasures of all lands were poured into her lap, that she began to take rank in the arts of civilisation, and to emerge from the barbarism of her past. Even then the vast labour of transforming her into the magnificent capital of the Empire was done by those who, leaving their own less promising lands, poured into this great centre for men ambitious of distinction; and during the three centuries that elapsed before the division of the Empire, both in Rome and other Roman cities, it seemed that magnificent undertakings were realised as soon as conceived, and glorious monuments sprang up as miraculously as Athena from the head of Zeus. Fergusson happily says: —

"It was with Imperial Rome that the ancient world perished; it was in her dominions that the new and Christian world was born. . . . To Rome all previous history tends; from Rome all modern history springs. To her, therefore, and to her arts, we inevitably turn, if not to admire, at least to learn; and if not to imitate, at any rate to wonder at and to contemplate a phase of art unknown to previous as to subsequent history, and, if properly understood, more replete with instruction than any other form hitherto known."

One important distinguishing feature of Roman architecture was the variety of edifices and monuments to which it was applied. Egypt had tombs and palaces; Greece, little else than temples and theatres; while in Etruria we only know of tombs; but in Rome were temples, basilicas, and tombs, palaces, baths, theatres, circuses, and amphitheatres, besides triumphal arches, pillars of victory, porticoes, aqueducts, gates, bridges, and luxurious villas, and private houses of various dimensions and descriptions, — some of these being originally constructed in Rome. It is probable that the arch was long used in Rome for bridges, sewers, and other works of utility; but when, later, impressiveness and magnificence in architecture were sought, the usefulness and beauty of the arch is given its first prominence.

After the division of the Roman Empire and the establishment of a second capital at Constantinople, each of these important cities exercised a certain influence upon the other, and the effect of the Eastern or Byzantine architecture upon that of Rome became very apparent, and, in fact, upon that of all Southern Europe as well.

The later Romanesque architecture, while it gave prominence to the earlier Christian basilica form, is still modified by this Byzantine influence. The first important change from the simple basilica was the addition of transepts, and the extension of the nave considerably beyond them, which distinctly imparted the shape of the cross to the church.

The added length of the nave formed a separate sanctuary, in which was the choir, usually raised above the level of the nave. Another change was that of continuing the aisles entirely around the choir; and in these aisles chapels were frequently made, as in those upon the sides of the church. Even these changes did not destroy the basilica effect as to the general appearance of the Roman churches; and when, in the last half of the eleventh century, the flat roof of the nave was replaced by vaulting, these edifices

might still be fitly described as vaulted basilicas. It would require a purely architectural essay to define the differences between Romanesque and mediæval architecture, or to make at all clear the period when one became free of the other and quite itself, — if that ever occurred, — and it is not my intention to treat of that subject here. Among the best examples of mediæval architecture remaining in Rome may be mentioned the church of SS. Quattro Coronato, rebuilt in 1111; S. Giovanni a Porta Latina, dating from 1191, where are some excellent mosaics, as well as the chancel pavement by the Cosmati; and SS. Vincenzo e Anastasio alle Tre Fontane, 1221, as well as the basilica of S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura, 1216, with its cloisters of the same age. Gradually important changes were introduced in the uses of columns and piers, in the style of the vaultings, and in all the mouldings, capitals, shafts, bases, and various members which could be made ornamental. Doorways and windows were in course of evolution, while the whole façade was frequently a collection of pilasters, horizontal entablatures, semicircular arches, and all in a variety of marbles which gave a rich, and even sumptuous, effect to the design.

Cloisters, too, added a grace and beauty to both churches and monasteries that can scarcely be exaggerated, — charming examples of them being still seen at S. Paolo fuori le Mura, and at the Lateran. The latter show the effect of a structure of the eighth or ninth century perfected by the style of four or five hundred years later. The cloisters were treated with greater freedom than the interiors of the churches; the pillars were in a great variety of form, sometimes twisted with fantastic designs in their capitals, while the entablatures were ornamented in bas-reliefs and in mosaic. The cloisters of this style were at their best in the thirteenth century, at which time the tabernacle and canopy work over altars and monuments made a most important feature in architectural decoration, while the ambones and all the lesser

objects, such as choir seats, etc., in keeping with their surroundings, were richly ornamented with carving and mosaics. The most famous ambones were the work of the Cosma family, which gave the name of Cosmatesque to this style of mosaics, which distinctly resembled the best of those in the early Christian churches. Enough has been outlined here to indicate the tendency of Roman architecture, and to foreshadow that which came with the Renaissance. Perhaps the best examples of the transitional period, between the ninth and fifteenth centuries, are in churches, — as S. Maria in Cosmedin, 1123, S. Maria in Trastevere, 1216, the Sancta Sanctorum of the Lateran, 1280, and others; and in portions added to older edifices, such as the cloister of S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura, 1191, and that of S. Paolo, 1241, to which I have referred, and that of the Lateran, about 1200.

Many good examples exist of the lesser works of this period, such as the porticoes of S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura, and the doorway of S. Antonio Abate, and are easily distinguished from the earlier and later architecture. Canopies, ambones, and other beautiful examples of this period exist in many churches, while Cosmatesque mosaics and pavements are seen in at least thirty churches in Rome. The mosaic work, fine and delicate, is most interesting: in S. Balbina is an effigy adorned with mosaics, made by Johannes Cosma in 1295; in S. Cesario, a marble screen is beautifully ornamented with this work; in the Sistine Chapel there are some exquisite specimens, especially an altar executed by one of the Cosma family in the twelfth century; and these are but a few examples of these treasures, which are also seen in the edifices of Palestrine, Subiaco, etc. as well as in Rome. The pavements, while necessarily heavier, and in a sense coarser, are splendid examples of these works, and are noticeable where fragments only remain; in S. Crisogono the Cosmatesque pavement is well preserved; perhaps the most beautiful specimen is that of the *Sancta Sanctorum*,

which interesting chapel was built by one of the Cosma family in 1278–80.

So many writers have called attention to the obvious origin of the classical architecture of the Renaissance, that it requires but a passing mention here. The enthusiasm for classical literature which prevailed after the night of the Middle Ages was applied to art; and the Romans, carried away by this wave of what may almost be termed literary madness, as they compared the earliest edifices which remained to them, — the Pantheon; the Flavian Amphitheatre; the remnants of the Palace of the Cæsars; the Forum, the Baths, etc., — turned with a certain contempt to the basilicas and churches of the early Christian and Middle Ages, and began to wonder at themselves — as all the artistic world must ever have wondered — for having so far lost sight of classical art as to have countenanced any other, even for a brief period. Rome's supremacy in ecclesiastical matters was then undisputed, and she soon claimed supreme rank in literature and art. The Reformation, occurring at the same time, as another manifestation of the intellectual awakening of the world, caused the interruption, indeed, almost the cessation, of church-building in the nations of Northern Europe. In Rome it was quite different: the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries saw the wealth and power of the Papacy at its very acme, and, filled with pride and courage, the enormously bold and magnificent project of the building of S. Peter's was inaugurated; besides which older churches were rebuilt and many new ones of lesser pretensions — but rich and splendid — were undertaken with zeal; and the genius of the artists who were in the service of the Papal Court exerted an influence that overran other countries, like an ocean at high tide, the absolute ebb of which has never yet been reached.

Although we naturally turn to S. Peter's at this point in making a study of Rome, we may pause to say that it was

fortunate that during the fifteenth century some important churches had been erected in other parts of Italy, — notably Santo Spirito at Florence; Santa Maria at Milan; the façade of the Certosa at Pavia; and Bramante's Church at Lodi, — and that Brunelleschi and Alberti had done their great work.

In the fifteenth century, in fact, all the elements of what was done later had been produced, and the edifices that followed presented nothing new; their novelty and originality was only in their use and in the combinations of these elements.

Pope Nicholas V., who died in 1454, had commenced a cathedral on plans that, if perfected, would have produced a grand and magnificent temple for the great high-priest of the Catholic world. But little had been accomplished when Nicholas died, and no more was done until Pope Julius II., desiring a fitting place for his own mausoleum, to be made by Michael Angelo Buonarotti, determined to carry out the intention of the former Pope.

The corner-stone of S. Peter's was laid in 1506, and this ceremony was followed by a series of mishaps which delayed any important advance until 1546, when Bramante, Raphael, Baldassare, Peruzzi, and Sangallo had successively been appointed as architects of S. Peter's and had all died.

In the forty years that had passed, although comparatively little had been accomplished, that little was sufficient to render it impractical to change the plan; and Michael Angelo, who now became its architect, simply determined to make it of less size than had originally been intended and to preserve the form of the cross which Peruzzi and Raphael had proposed. During the seventeen remaining years of his life, this great architect, sculptor, and painter brought his will and his genius to bear upon this enormous work, until, at his death, in 1563, his dome was virtually completed and his design for the lantern so perfectly made that it was finished

in exact conformity with it. The important part which was still unfinished was the eastern portico, and his plan in regard to that was set aside.

This front was not completed until early in the seventeenth century, when it fell to the lot of an inartistic architect, Carlo Maderno; and still later, in 1661, Bernini had the honour of building the piazza with its various parts — its porticoes and fountains — and of finishing a work which had been in progress more than one hundred and fifty years, and which exceeds all other Christian churches in size and magnificence, in spite of the numerous legitimate criticisms which are made of it. That it is not the most artistically beautiful of Christian temples is much to be lamented, and must be attributed to the order of architecture — or rather the want of an order — to which it belongs.

Not an architectural critic in Europe has defended S. Peter's, and Fergusson is severe and, it seems to me, reasonable in his criticisms; and yet S. Peter's ever demanded the tribute of the familiar words, "with all thy faults I love thee still," and this even Fergusson renders when he says: —

"Notwithstanding all this, there is a simplicity and grandeur about the great vault of the nave, which goes far to redeem the bad taste of the arches which support it; and the four great vaults of the nave, transepts, and choir, each eighty feet in span and one hundred and fifty feet in height, opening into a dome of the dimensions and beauty of proportion of that of S. Peter's, form together one of the most sublime architectural conceptions that the world has yet seen. There is a poetry, too, in the ever-varying perspective that is afforded by the intersections of the great vaults with those of the aisles that surround the piers of the dome, that is unrivalled by any similar effect in any other church in Europe. . . . It thus happens that, in spite of all its faults of detail, the interior of S. Peter's approaches more nearly to the sublime in architectural effect than any other which the hand of man has executed. Its one rival is the hall at Karnac; but, except in propriety of detail, even that must yield the palm to the Roman basilica."

The treasures of S. Peter's are too many to be enumerated here, while paintings, sculpture, and mosaic, by the best artists that could be commanded, exist within its walls in greater profusion than in any other church in the world, and, on the occasion of a *festa*, when filled with people; when the exquisite music floats above their heads from the choir; when at the Elevation of the Host the vast multitude kneels, and the notes of the trumpets penetrate even the dome, — there is a solemnity that exceeds in its impressiveness all the religious functions at which I have assisted.

The ever memorable simplicity of the *crèche* at Bethlehem; the Easter service at the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem: the keeping of the Passover on Mt. Gerizim; the celebration of the King's birthday in the Greek Church at Athens, a magnificent scene; the Milan Cathedral on the festival of its patron saint; and Notre Dame on the occasion of a Thanksgiving to the God of Battles, which Napoleon III. rendered in every possible manner a spectacle to be remembered for life, — all these are in my memory, and still, S. Peter's in 1868, when I there witnessed many solemnities, stands out as the most wonderful and memorable of all.

The church of S. John Lateran, erected as a five-aisled basilica in the tenth century, has been so clothed upon with all kinds of additions and decorations that very little that meets the eye is more than three centuries old; but, as has been mentioned, it is a very important church ecclesiastically, and ranks next to S. Peter's in size among the churches of Rome.

Want of space forbids any further consideration of Roman churches, albeit a subject of unending interest, for many as they are, it may almost be said that each one has a distinctive and individual interest. In the whole number — probably about eight hundred — every style of architecture from that of the ancient basilica to the most modern church can be seen, as well as all imaginable modes of decoration

and interior arrangement; in short, is it not true of Rome as of no other city, that here all forms and phases of art have contributed to its grandeur, or to its injury at one period or another.

Hegel says: "A people may have absolutely disappeared from the earth and from history, leaving behind them but a single monument, and this monument may permit us to penetrate the recesses of their thoughts."

If one studied the Romans from their monuments with no knowledge of their history, what a composite character would be the result! Since the day when Augustus boasted that he found a city of brick and left it a city of marble, emperors, popes, and men of wealth have striven to place their mark on this Mother City; and, as a result, from the grand whole has an original style of Roman architecture been evolved?

Before the night of the Middle Ages no purely Roman art existed. Can one point to any important edifice in Rome, erected since the beginning of the Renaissance, that is not an imitation as a whole, or in part, of some structure of a different age, and of another land?

We cannot speak of the Pantheon without thinking of both a pagan temple and a Christian Church, and a long line of emperors and popes, artists and poets, pass us in solemn procession on their way to this temple, — some to receive the homage of their subjects; others to celebrate the service of the Prince of Peace; and some, alas! borne by their fellow-mortals to their last earthly resting-place, until the imposing pageant closes with the funeral train of the first King of United Italy. Doubtless this temple is the best preserved monument of ancient Rome, as it is one of the stateliest edifices of the world; but since the recent excavations have revealed the fact that it stands above two other older structures, it has been decided by those best entitled to judge that this temple is the work of Hadrian, as

THE PANTHEON IN 1575

Fergusson believed, more than forty years ago, and the porch alone can be attributed to Agrippa, 27 B. C., while it was restored by Septimius Severus and Caracalla.

In the rotunda of the Pantheon the Romans reached a height in a style of architecture, nearly original with them, that has not been surpassed,— the wonderful dome being the largest single dome that has ever been constructed. It is a simple, grand structure, boldly conceived, with minor faults alone, which do not detract from its pre-eminence

among domed edifices. Seventeen centuries have not lessened its strength, and it impresses one as having before it a future of equal length.

The Pantheon was consecrated to Mars, Venus, and other mythical ancestors of Augustus, as a tribute to him.

It seems always to have been called the Pantheon, either on account of the deities to whom it was dedicated, or because its dome resembles the form of the canopy of heaven, or for both these reasons. Certainly no other edifice exists in which the same effects can be observed as here, when the sunlight pours in at the great opening at the top, through which the deep blue sky is seen, with white clouds moving slowly over it; or when at night the stars come out and sing together, "and the firmament sheweth His handiwork." It is a curious fact that, although the Pantheon is the oldest domed edifice of which we know, it is perfect. If there were trials and failures before this was attained, the story of them is not known; and this magnificent result seems to have been a perfect dream in the brain of its architect, perfectly realised, as if by the waving of Prospero's wand, for, so far as is known, the dome of the Pantheon is the corner-stone in the history of domes.

Upon the exterior of the opening in the dome, a band of gilt bronze remains, such as once covered the vast cupola, and must have looked like a mountain of pure gold; for the gilding of the Greeks and Romans was laid on in plates of perceptible thickness. The gold-plated tiles were stripped off the roof by Constans II., 663 A. D., who was taking them to Constantinople when he was attacked and killed by the Syracusans, who thus gained the many rich spoils of which he had deprived Rome.

Again, in 1626, Urban VIII. became the spoiler of what had been for sixteen centuries a Christian church; who, while he tore out the splendid bronze girders of the porch, and made them into cannon for the Castle of S. Angelo, did

not forget to put the Barberini bee on the capital of a pillar in the same portico! It is said that this bronze weighed above four hundred and fifty thousand pounds, and from it not only one hundred and ten cannon were made, but also the great canopy, with twisted columns, above the high altar in S. Peter's.

We are grateful that no Eastern or Western robber coveted the doors, which are still in place, and are the noblest specimen of Roman bronze existing; and in spite of the vandalism of Pope Urban VIII., there is reason to believe that the Pantheon would not now be in its present state of preservation had it not been in the keeping of his successors in the Papacy,— those Popes who, during the Middle Ages, came to the Pantheon on the day of Pentecost, when showers of white rose leaves, gently falling, as from heaven, symbolised the descent of the Holy Spirit. It is a matter of congratulation that so few changes were made when it passed from a pagan to a Christian temple; and though the rains have descended into its midst for centuries, and the waters of the Tiber have overflowed its pavement, while fires have repeatedly injured it, no other monument of its age is equally well preserved, — and what other edifice in all the world is of such universal interest? The serious archæologist, the architect, the dreamy student of the past, the modern pagan and the pious Christian, one and all may here breathe an atmosphere well suited to their special needs. The Christian will forget that any god save his has here been worshipped; the pagan will, in imagination, replace the statues of the ancient deities in the seven great niches, and in his abstraction see neither priest nor acolyte, while he mistakes the burning incense for that which smoked upon the altar of Great Jove; the painter will bow in reverence at the tombs of Raphael and others of his craft, whose final resting-place is here; the architect will lose himself in admiration of the genius of the nameless builder

of the great Rotunda; while constantly are passing in and out Romans of all ages, and Italians from north and south, who come to say a prayer and lay a flower beside the grave of Victor Emmanuel, who, as in the words of Mrs. Browning, they regard as "King of us all!"

"Simple, erect, severe, austere, sublime, —
Shrine of all saints, and temple of all gods,
From Jove to Jesus, — spared and blest by time;
Looking tranquillity, while falls or nods
Arch, empire, each thing round thee, and man plods
His way through thorns to ashes, — glorious dome!
Shalt thou not last? Time's scythe and tyrants' rods
Shiver upon thee, — sanctuary and home
Of art and piety, — Pantheon, pride of Rome!

"Relic of nobler days and noblest Arts!
Despoiled yet perfect, with thy circle spreads
A holiness appealing to all hearts, —
To Art a model; and to him who treads
Rome for the sake of ages, Glory sheds
Her light through thy sole aperture; to those
Who worship, here are altars for their heads;
And they who feel for genius may repose
Their eyes on honored forms, whose busts around them close."

LORD BYRON.

VALENTINIAN I. HOLDING THE LABARUM.

CHAPTER V.

PAGAN TOMBS AND CEMETERIES.

A VAST amount of interest centres in the tombs of Rome, originating in the universal desire to know all that can be learned, from all possible sources, of the religion, art, and customs of the nation which may with so much reason be called the parent of the modern world. The Sarcophagus of Scipio and the Tomb of Cecilia Metella are essentially all that remain in illustration of Roman burial-places before the Imperial period, which was so rich in all that relates to them. The tomb of the Scipios "contains no ashes now," and "its sepulchres lie tenantless;" but it is believed to be as ancient a Roman tomb as still exists. Its arrangement for the reception of the entire body shows that cremation was not customary in the remote days of its construction. The sarcophagus and most of the inscriptions found here have been placed in the Vatican, and the copies of the latter left in the tomb are incorrect in various details.

TOMB OF MAXIMIAN.

The sarcophagus was that of Lucius Cornelius Scipio Barbatus, consul 298 B. C. The inscription has been translated thus: "Cornelius Lucius Scipio Barbatus — the bearded — born of his father Gnævus,

a brave man and a wise; whose form was fully equal to his worth, who was among you as Consul, Censor, Aedile; Taurasia Cisauna he took from the Samnites; he subdued all Lucania, and carried away hostages."

The sarcophagus is decorated with a frieze and cornice in simple, conventional designs. The inscription is incised and painted red. In 1780 the tomb was rifled, and the lid of the sarcophagus broken; otherwise it is as perfect as if ten years instead of twenty-one centuries old. When this burial case was opened the skeleton within was well preserved; the ring upon its finger held a carnelian engraved with a standing figure of a Winged Victory holding a palm. Five years ago this ring, above all price, was at Alnwick Castle in the Northumberland collection of gems.

Ennius, the poet, was also buried in this tomb; and a youthful bust, found in the vault, is now placed on the sarcophagus of Scipio, and called that of Ennius, but without authority. Other inscriptions found in the tomb prove that it continued in use even under the Empire; and, in fact, it has some brickwork of the second century of our era, while its condition shows that it was more than once enlarged.

The first tomb in Rome, that of Cecilia Metella, is also the oldest edifice of the Imperial epoch of which we have a positive date. Its bold, square base upholds a tower about ninety-four feet in diameter, decorated with a carved frieze of ox-skulls joined by wreaths; above this frieze a few rows of the brickwork are believed to be original, but as the tomb has been used as a fortress, battlements have been added, and the conical roof, which should legitimately crown the structure, has disappeared. It is not singular that Lord Byron and other poets have been inspired by the sight of this tomb, the most splendid sepulchre of a woman that I have seen; for while the Taj Mahal is more femininely beautiful, it is not so grand as this; and before its marble covering was stripped off to make lime, and Clement XII.

had robbed it of its largest blocks to benefit the Fountain of Trevi, it must have been magnificent. Well did Byron emphasise the "love or pride" of Crassus, who thus entombed his wife; and the lines of Mrs. Stoddard appeal to me in their expression of rugged Roman pride, —

> "Great were the Metelli:
> I was Metella's wife;
> I loved him — and I died.
> Then with slow patience built he this memorial;
> Each century marks his love."

The bodies of the emperors and empresses were burned on the most magnificent funeral pyres, during the first three centuries of the Empire, and as the flames mounted upward, an eagle was set free, which, in its heavenward flight, symbolised the ascension of the soul of the dead. This scene is frequently represented in sepulchral reliefs. A good example is that on the pedestal of the column of Antoninus Pius, which represents a Genius bearing the Emperor and Faustina upward, while an eagle on each side soars with them; an allegorical figure of Rome is seated on one side the relief, and a youth reclining on the ground and supporting an obelisk represents the Campus Martius. The column itself no longer exists; and since the time of Gregory XVI. the pedestal has been in the Giardino della Pigna in the Vatican.

The Emperor Augustus had built his mausoleum in the Campus Martius forty-two years before he died, in 14 A. D. Strabo describes it as a circular structure of white marble, two hundred and twenty-five feet in diameter, above which a great cone of earth was planted with cypresses and evergreens, the bronze statue of the Emperor standing on its highest point, and towering above the trees.

It was copied from Etruscan tombs, and this construction was afterwards much in use at Rome, as is proved by the numerous tumuli on the Via Salaria and the Via Appia.

According to the statements of Du Perac, and the illustrations which he gave of it, a large part of this tomb remained in the middle of the sixteenth century; portions of the marble, the mound, and the garden were there, the last recalling

AUGUSTUS CROWNED WITH OAK AND OLIVE.

the stiff Dutch manner of laying out such spots. Above the central doorway was a colossal head; a statue stood on each side of the entrance, before which was a large sarcophagus. Suetonius relates that Augustus also laid out the grounds surrounding his tomb, to be used as a public garden during his life. Near the entrance of this vast mausoleum stood the obelisks now seen in the Piazza del Quirinale, and that of S. Maria Maggiore.

Towards the end of his life Augustus wrote his will, and ordered his executors to have it engraved on bronze pillars,

placed on each side of the entrance to the tomb; this command was faithfully obeyed, and copies were made of the inscriptions, some of which existed in remote parts of Galatia and Pisidia. The so-called Ancyrean inscription in the temple to the honour of Augustus in that old city — Angora — has a copy of the inscription at the mausoleum, and a Greek translation of it. This was discovered more than three centuries ago, and is of inestimable value. It is in three parts, which together give lists of all the honours conferred upon the Emperor, the sums which he spent for the public, and his achievements both in war and in peace. The statements in this inscription read more like the wonders of fairy tales than like straightforward historical facts; but we must believe them, for they could not have been publicly accepted, as they were, had they been false. The mausoleum was opened for the last burial which occurred there in 98 A. D., when the ashes of Nerva were deposited in it.

In 410 A. D. the Goths opened and searched it, and later it was converted into a stronghold by the Colonnas; and as they were accused of treason, and of leading the Roman army into an ambush on May 30, 1167, when the Romans were defeated by the Germans at the battle of Cannæ, their fortress, this most interesting survival of the great Augustus, was completely ruined. However, in 1241, the Colonnas again strengthened and occupied the ruins of the "Campo dell' Augusta," as the spot had come to be known.

When Cola di Rienzo was murdered in 1347, his body, after being exposed to insults for two days and a night, was dragged to the mausoleum, where the Jews had congregated, and on a pyre of thistles and brushwood it was consumed.

During an earthquake in the seventeenth century the central vault, above the tomb, fell in, and at the end of the eighteenth century the remains of this Imperial mausoleum

were converted into an open-air theatre, where bull-baiting and like diversions had place.

In 1777 the *ustrinum*, the sacred enclosure in which the remains of the imperial family were cremated, was discovered, nineteen feet below the sidewalk of the Corso. Strabo had described its marble pavement, brass railings, and the poplars which shaded it. Its pavements remained, and also some marble pedestals which stood on its borders.

A most beautiful vase was found there which had doubtless contained imperial ashes; it was three feet in height and its cover was decorated with a lotus blossom: it is now in the Gallery of Statues in the Vatican. In 1519 the architect, Baldassare Peruzzi, found a portion of the inscriptions of this tomb and copied them, but it was not examined archæologically until 1527, at which time the obelisk of the Piazza of S. Maria Maggiore was found. Before the death of Augustus the ashes of six bodies had been placed in the mausoleum, and after him nine other distinguished men and women were entombed there; ten of the sixteen funeral urns have been found; six of these are in the Vatican Museum, three have been destroyed, and that of Agrippina is in the court-yard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori.

This noble woman, banished to an island, by Tiberius, died after three years of starvation; whether of her own choice or by the sentence of the Emperor, is not known. However, he praised his own forbearance, according to Tacitus, that he had not murdered her and exposed her corpse upon the Gemonian steps!

When Caligula came into power he visited the scene of his mother's death, collected her ashes and those of other relatives, and placed them in the mausoleum of Augustus. Curiously, the *cippus*, or sepulchral column of Agrippina, was hollowed out during the Middle Ages and used as a standard measure; it holds three hundred pounds of grain, according to the statement inscribed above the municipal

coat of arms. There seems to be no doubt as to the genuineness of this *cippus*, as the accession of Caligula is mentioned in the inscription.

There is much that is curiously interesting, with something even of fearful fascination, in the study of such a human monster as the Emperor Nero, and one may, perhaps, be pardoned for thinking the horrors of his last hours a satisfactory

CINERARY URN.

close to such a career as his: and yet, there were those so devoted to him that at a great sacrifice they protected his dead body from insult, and entombed it with honourable decency.

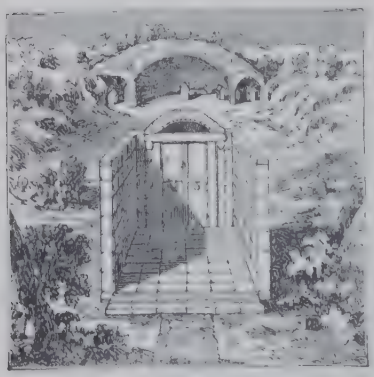
Nero was dining in his Golden House when the fatal news of the defection of the last Roman legion was brought to him by letter; on reading what he knew to be his death sentence, he was seized with a fit of rage, in which he destroyed many of the priceless ornaments of his table, and

having obtained a phial of poison, he despatched messengers to Ostia, commanding that vessels be there kept ready for his flight. He then sought for friends to aid him in his escape, without success; one of his courageous guards replied to his request by the suggestive question, "Is, then, death so hard?"

Many cowardly projects for obtaining mercy from his foes were considered by him; but his fear of the people who doubtless would have tortured him to death if he appeared in public, restrained him from seeking favour from his opponents.

At evening he fell asleep, and woke at midnight to find himself deserted, his attendants having even stolen the precious poison. He then attempted to throw himself from a bridge, but his cowardice restrained him, and at this hopeless moment Phaon, the freedman, offered his villa to the Emperor as a place of retreat. It was four miles away, and Nero, dressed in poor clothes, and barefooted, mounted a horse to pass the Porta Collina. Phaon and three other men went with him, and his fearful flight through the heavy night, with thunder pealing, as it were, a knell — with the trembling of an earthquake as he passed the prætorian camp — with the sound of his name from the soldiers who, cursing him, proclaimed their choice of Galba — with the plans for his capture which he overheard — with the fright of his horse at a corpse which was lying in his path — with the slipping off of the handkerchief which concealed his face, and his recognition by a soldier, — rouses a sentiment of shuddering pity, even for the cowardly tyrant that he was, while we wonder whether in these hours of danger he was not haunted by the remembrance of the tortures he had inflicted on hundreds of victims, to which his own agony was as nothing. Suetonius gives so exact an account of the route, the villa, and its surroundings, that one who knows the Roman suburbs can follow Nero's flight, step by step, and the ruins of the Villa of Phaon which still remain, — from

which one has lovely views of the country and of the city — prove it to have been a choice spot for the hiding of the fallen wretch. To avoid being seen upon the public roads the horses were turned loose and the fugitives reached the villa only after a wearisome struggle over rough and thorny ways. Once within, Nero was provided with a couch, a coarse covering, a piece of stale bread, and a glass of tepid water; he touched the last to his parched lips and tried to gain courage to kill himself. Suetonius recounts the grimaces and the futile attempts of the coward with realistic effect, and these were only cut short by the sound of approaching horsemen coming to arrest him, in the hope of finding him still alive. With a last effort he placed the dagger at his throat, and his freedman, Epaphroditus, aided him to give the final thrust. He could still speak when the centurion rushed in to find that he was passing beyond his power. "Too late! Is this your fidelity?" gasped Nero, and sank in death with so frightful an expression upon his face that all fled in horror.



TOMB OF THE GENS FURIA.

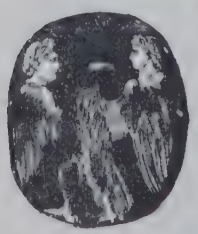
But three women, — his two nurses, Ecloge and Alexandra, and his mistress, Acte — and the three men who had accompanied him in his flight remained, and obtained permission to bury him decently. They provided about five thousand dollars for the purpose, and cremated the body, wrapped in the gold and white sheet which had covered Nero's bed on New Year's night.

TOMB OF SCIPIO BARBATUS.

His ashes were placed in a porphyry urn which rested on an altar of Carrara marble in the tomb of the Domitian family, built of Thesian marble, on that spur of the Pincian, which is behind the Church of S. Maria del Popolo. Concerning a recent discovery which is a fresh reminder of this tyrant, I quote from Commendatore Lanciani.

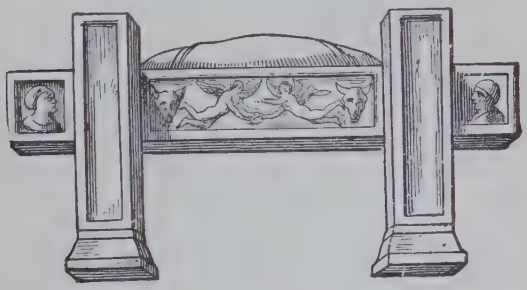
"A pathetic discovery has just been made in the Vigna Chiari, on the exact spot of Nero's suicide, by my friend, Cav. Rodolfo Buti, that of the tomb of Claudia Ecloge, the old woman who was so devoted to her nursling. The epitaph is a plain marble slab containing her name only. As she could not be buried in or near the family vault of the Domitii on the Pincian, she selected the spot where Nero's remains had been cremated. The original epitaph of Claudia Ecloge has been removed to the Capitoline Museum, where it seems lost among so many other objects of interest; but the student who will select the Vigne Nuove for an afternoon excursion will find there a fac-simile placed by our archæological commission on the front wall of the Casino di Vigna Chiari."

The Emperor Trajan died in 135 A. D., and as there was no space remaining in the imperial tomb of Augustus, his ashes were enclosed in a gold vase which was buried beneath the column of Trajan, which he had built in the centre of the Forum, — a fitting place of sepulture for "the best of Roman princes," as he has been called. The Mausoleum of Hadrian, or Castle of S. Angelo, was begun by the Emperor in the year of Trajan's death. Ancient drawings show that the bridge, *Pons Ælius*, originally erected by Hadrian, connected the mausoleum directly with the Campus Martius, on the other side of the river. Procopius describes this tomb as so magnificent that it is difficult to imagine it, when seen in its present condition.



BUSTS OF NERO AND AGRIPPINA BORNE BY AN EAGLE.

It has undergone such changes as to render it almost impossible to picture to one's self its original interior, when there was but a single apartment reached by an inclined plane; this central vaulted chamber is still well preserved; but the rooms which have been arranged above it to furnish a safe dwelling for the Popes in times of danger, the various



FUNEREAL COUCH.

changes in the passages, and the alterations needful to convert the whole into barracks for troops, have sadly detracted from its original interior impressiveness, while the vandalism of one epoch after the other has so changed the exterior, that even the bas-relief on the bronze door of S. Peter's fails to aid us materially in appreciating the description of Procopius. He relates that the entire exterior was of marble, nearly all white, decorated with columns of coloured marbles and porphyries, with external aisles or colonnades in two tiers, statues being placed between the columns. The interior was lined with white Parian marble which made a brilliant background for the columns of Oriental marbles and porphyry, with statues in marble and gilt bronze standing between them.

It is recorded by Procopius that the statues which stood in the external colonnades were hurled down on the heads of

the Goths who assaulted the tomb in 537 A. D. Be this as it may, statues were found in the moat about the edifice in the seventeenth century, and many believe that others are still buried in the same locality. The colossal Head of Hadrian in the Rotunda of the Vatican, the Dancing Faun of the Uffizi at Florence, and the Barberini Faun at Munich, were all recovered from the moat of Hadrian's Mausoleum after having lain there for centuries — probably twelve hundred years.

In general design this tomb resembled that of Cecilia Metella, a circular tower on a square base, but much larger. When cased in marble the drum must have been two hundred and thirty feet in diameter, and the base about three hundred feet square. Numerous statues were placed on the top of the base, at the bottom of the circular tower. The sarcophagus of Hadrian was used for the tomb of Pope Innocent II. in the Lateran, in 1143, and was destroyed by fire in the fourteenth century; but the immense cover of polished porphyry, after having made the tomb of the Emperor Otho II., who died 983 A. D., is now used as a font in the Baptistery of S. Peter's. Middleton explains the original construction of the tomb and the method which made it possible to place so enormous a sarcophagus in its place in the burial chamber, nearly at the top of the circular tower, in this wise: "The access to the main sepulchral chamber is formed in a very complicated way by various passages gently sloping upward in a series of inclined planes, so as to admit of heavy sarcophagi being introduced and dragged up on rollers. Midway this passage opens out into another chamber, below the principal one: and here the sloping way is broken at two places by a sort of trap-door arrangement, so as to cut off communication and prevent the tomb chamber from being reached."

After Hadrian died, 138 A. D., the imperial families were buried here; Commodus, who died 192 A. D., was probably

HEAD OF HADRIAN.

the last occupant of the tomb. In the ninth, and even as late as the sixteenth century, some of the inscriptions were in their original places, although it was rifled by the Goths in 410 A. D. A little later it is said to have been converted into a fortress, but under Gregory the Great, 590–604 A. D., it was consecrated as a Christian church, in consequence of

a dream in which Gregory saw Saint Michael sheathe his sword after a plague which had visited Rome; it was called the church of *S. Angelus inter nubes* — the Holy Angel in the Clouds. Doubtless the invention of this charming tale arose in the Roman custom, and indeed that of other Christian nations, of consecrating the highest points on mountains and hills to Saint Michael, as in classical times it was believed that these high places were especially dear to Jupiter, and that from them his thunderbolts were hurled. Many heights about Rome were crowned with the figure of an angel. The mausoleum of Augustus, as well as that of Hadrian, was under the protecting wings, while on the highest point in Rome stood the church of S. Angelo in Janiculo.

In 1348, when the image of the Virgin was borne in procession on account of the plague, thirty persons testified that the angel on S. Angelo bowed to the "Mother of God." In 1378 this angel was destroyed, and replaced by another a few years later, which second was ruined by the explosion of a powder magazine in 1497. A third statue was set up by Alexander VI., only to be stolen by the followers of Charles V for its gilding.

A marble effigy was then placed on the vacant pedestal, a work of Raffaele di Montelupo, which was displaced in the time of Benedict XIV., the middle of the eighteenth century, by a figure in bronze. For some time after the tenth century, — when the church or castle of S. Angelo was seized by the Count of Tusculum, and converted into a fortress, — it was the scene of constant struggles, and in the eleventh century was called the Castle of Crescentius, as it had been called that of Theodoric in the sixth. Its enormous strength afforded safety to its occupants and it was at length united to the Vatican by a covered way, in the early part of the fifteenth century. Here during the sack of Rome in 1527, Pope Clement VII. remained a prisoner, but safe from harm, until peace was restored. The account of this siege, and

the defence of the castle, is told in a most realistic manner in the autobiography of the strange and gifted Benvenuto Cellini.

These examples serve to give a good idea of the magnificence of the imperial tombs, their ornament and use, before the Christian era; but they give no information concerning the burial customs of the Roman people, a subject of more importance than that of the sepulture of the few who could claim the honours of an imperial tomb.

In prehistoric times cremation was not practised by the Romans, and some very conservative and ancient families, in order to emphasise their prestige and lineage, persistently rejected cremation, as is proved by recent discoveries in ancient burial vaults.

The first member of the Cornelii family who was cremated was the dictator Sulla, who died in 78 B. C., and this he commanded to be done lest his corpse should be treated as he had treated that of Marius, when he exhumed it, subjected it to insults, and cast it into the river Anio. Indeed, his fears were well founded, and his enemies combined to prevent the usual honours being shown him; but the Senate decreed him the most magnificent funeral that had occurred in Rome. His soldiers came from all Italy to do him honour; the Senate, magistrates, priests, Vestal Virgins and many legions afforded one of the memorable Roman spectacles as they proceeded to the Campus Martius, where the pyre was erected. Great numbers of Roman ladies attended his funeral, for in spite of his cruelty, Sulla had been a favourite with them; and they brought such quantities of aromatics that besides two hundred and ten baskets full, there was sufficient cinnamon and other precious spices to make a statue of the dead dictator of full life size, and a second of a lictor bearing the fasces before him.

His ashes were deposited in the royal sepulchre, and his statue was erected in the Campus Martius, with an inscrip-

tion which he had composed. "No friend ever did me a kindness, no enemy a wrong, without receiving full requital."

When the "Twelve Tables" were drawn up, 451 B. C., both burial and cremation were permitted, and each had many advocates; thus it is not surprising that in the ancient tombs, coffins and cinerary urns are found side by side.

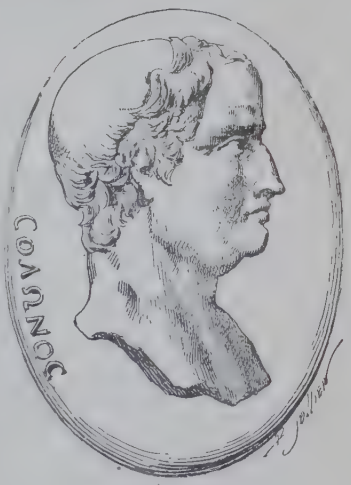
The fact has been established that the pre-historic race that settled the Campagna were buried in trunks of trees, hollowed out and cut to measure. One of these was found in 1889 by engineers who were excavating for the drainage of a lake. The tree from which the coffin was made, an oak, had been sawn in two, lengthwise; the skeleton was still within this archaic coffin, as well as some objects in ivory and amber; the trench in which the burial was made was fourteen feet below the present surface, and was longer and broader than the coffin, the space around which was filled with pre-historic Roman pottery and some specimens of a different earthenware, with one bronze cup, all of which, with the coffin, are in the Villa di Papa Giulio, where they are now exhibited.

Another rude burial case used in the earliest years, succeeding the foundation of Rome, was made of clay; some of these have been excavated at forty-two feet below the embankment of the Servian wall, and together with the pottery, bronze, etc., found with them, are in the Capitoline Museum. A variety of burial places has been discovered in the oldest Roman cemeteries. Naturally, caves were hewn from the rocks, and closed with large stones; in these are found objects in gold, bronze, and amber, — as well as Italo-Greek pottery, — while skeletons lie on funeral beds and are even placed on the floor with no beds. Caves are also made of courses of stones; and skeletons are found in wells, dug for the purpose, while others are protected by a circle of stones, or deposited in the "hut-urns" and other cinerary receptacles.

From all the facts that have been brought to light, and from

the objects found in tombs, men learned in such matters consider that cremation was so generally practised, from the fifth century of Rome to the second century of the Christian era, that the sacred enclosures in which cremations took place, became a necessity as much as the tombs themselves. It is a singular fact that the Columbaria which are so numerous in Rome and its Campagna, are unknown elsewhere.

The cemetery of the Esquiline which had been used for "the people" was discovered to be injurious to the health of Rome, and was covered with pure earth and converted into a public park. It was on this new-made land that the gardens and villa of Mæcenas were situated. This covering of old cemeteries with fresh earth and making land for other purposes, was more than once repeated; as, for example, a burial place, also on the Esquiline, which was covered in the second century of our era, and excavated by the archæological commission in the spring of 1871.



MÆCENAS.

The erection of Columbaria followed this movement, and they were probably first constructed about 20 B. C. in the time of Augustus, when Mæcenas was prime minister. It would seem that they were essentially a substitute for the older and most unsatisfactory places of burial, rather than the result of any preference founded on a religious or philosophic theory; and no comparison is possible between the many

revolting features of the old burial grounds, and the cleanliness and healthfulness of the method inaugurated under so wise a rule as that of Augustus and his friends, which would not favour the Columbaria. And as every provision was made for those who had small means, it soon recommended itself to the poorer classes, in spite of their superstitions.

An inscription discovered a half century ago in the Columbarium of the Villa Pamfili records that one Pinaria Murtinus bought a niche for one *as*. Such financial transactions have been handed down to posterity in many cases, by recording them on tombstones. A collection of thirty-eight such records which has been made, shows the prices of loculi and of entire tombs, to have ranged from eight dollars and a quarter, to eight thousand dollars. The Columbaria were frequently built for one family only, either for themselves alone, or for their slaves and freedmen also. Others were erected on speculation, in which any number of the loculi could be bought; while a third class was built by joint companies in which the stockholders had rights.

In 1854 a very curious and interesting inscription was discovered in a Columbarium on the Via Latina. This tomb had been opened in 1599, but this remarkable document had escaped notice. The inscription was on marble and placed above the door of the crypt.

It recorded that in the year 6 B. C. thirty-six Roman citizens formed a stock company for the purpose of building a Columbarium, in which they should all have their family burial places. Two of the number were chosen to superintend the undertaking. They received the price of the shares from the associates, bought land, and erected the Columbarium. They completed the structure and paid all the bills for it, and then called a general meeting of the interested parties, to be held on September thirtieth.

Their report was unanimously approved; a paper stating this, and declaring that the work had all been done according

to the wishes of the owners, as well as according to the statute, was drawn up and signed by each stockholder.

All that remained to be done was to make the proper distribution of the loculi which were the actual dividend of the organisation. Each owner was entitled to five loculi, but the method of the distribution was a puzzling question. At length it was decided to make it by drawing lots, *sortitionem ollarum*.

As a remuneration to the two men who had taken charge of the whole matter, they were permitted to select their places, being voted an exemption from the rule which bound the others to secure their loculi by pure chance.

This inscription gives, in a business way, in these days of stock companies, an effective emphasis to Ecclesiastes i. 9, 10: "The thing that hath been, it is that which shall be; and that which is done is that which shall be done; and there is no new thing under the sun. Is there any thing whereof it may be said, See, this is new? It hath been already of old time, which was before us." What a vista through the ages this opens, when King Solomon speaks of "the old time," and what can be more helpful to the understanding of the past than a study of Rome, in which twenty-six centuries and a half stretch out before us?

To return to our ancient Columbarium, we can easily understand that in a crypt with five rows of tiers, as was the case here, the upper row would be very inconvenient for the decoration of the urns, for the libations and other frequent ceremonies conscientiously observed by the Pagan Romans, as we have related in the first chapter. Again, the placing of the urns was not easy at such a height, and the difficulty of reading the inscriptions was increased. It is probable that these reasons led to the drawing of lots, each of which applied to one *locus* only, as is proved by other inscriptions like this: "Of Caius Julius Æschinus, fourth tier, thirty-fourth locus," etc.

The entire drawing of but one man is known, and he, curiously, drew one *locus* in each row!

As this Columbarium was opened in 6 B. C. and the final use of it occurred in 25 A. D., we may believe that the stockholders were not young, since it was filled in thirty-one years. The last man was the famous charioteer Scirtus, whose epitaph, according to Luigi Grifi, records that he enlisted in the white squadron 13 A. D., and in thirteen years won the first prize seven times, the second prize thirty-nine times, and the third forty times, besides many other honours, all duly recounted.

Some writers, before the excavations of modern times, believed that the Columbaria were built on the borders of the high-roads only, and were but a few rows deep; but we now know that they extended over large spaces, such as those between the Via Salaria and Via Nomentana, the Appia and Latina, etc. The official records show that twenty-eight thousand one hundred and eighty inscriptions had been found four years ago, and since then this number has been much increased. In many places they were very much crowded, nine hundred and ninety-four having been found in an area measuring but sixty-nine by fifty yards. It is easily understood that an immense amount of actual history has been revealed by the inscriptions, and in reading them one's feelings change "from grave to gay" in an unexpected manner, so many curious facts are set down in them. In some cases, not only the occupation of the deceased is given, but the address of his place of business; and while some inscriptions appeal to one's sympathy, — for mothers who buried their children, and for lovers whom death separated thousands of years since, — others are more humourous than sad, from one point of view. One surprising expression is: "The *preposterous laws of death* have torn him from my arms!" Very frequently imprecations upon any who shall disturb the graves remind us of that

stone in Stratford, so much the same in sentiment. For example, here are two: "Whoever steals the nails from this structure, may he thrust them into his eyes." "Any one who injures my tomb or steals its ornaments, may he see the death of all his relatives." There are some who even warn the passer against casting the "Evil eye" upon a tomb which contains but the ashes of the man who is supposed to speak; if the early strength of this superstition was such as this, it is no marvel that it still endures in the descendants of the Romans.

One form of tomb used by wealthy Romans under the Empire was that of a large chamber in the centre of which the members of the family were buried unburnt, in the sarcophagi which occupied this portion of the chamber, while the urns containing the ashes of their slaves and freedmen were placed in niches in the walls or simply on rows of shelves. This last method was that of the Pancratii, whose tomb on the Via Latina, about two and a half miles beyond the Lateran gate, has its vault magnificently decorated with paintings and stucco reliefs.

The entire vault and a deep frieze around the wall are decorated with low and medium reliefs, while large figures of winged Victories are modelled in the round. These reliefs are in a style very nearly approaching the pure Greek; they are graceful in pose, with the draperies in gently flowing curves, while all is so simply designed as to prove them the work of true artists. It is surprising to see the colours of the stucco so well preserved as in this tomb. The chief reliefs are white, but beautifully thrown out by the panels and other decorations in blue, vermilion, chocolate, etc., all used with harmonious and charming effect. Originally there was a small chapel above the tomb, which is now replaced by a shed for the protection of the lower part.

Many of the tombs on the sides of the principal roads were in the form of small chapels, with one or more mor-

FUNERAL URN OF MYRRHINA.

tuary chambers beneath. These chapels must have been ornamental; they were like small temples, some without columns, while others had an ornamented, pillared portico. The upper apartment was decorated with statues of the gods, and portraits of those who had been buried in the tomb below, and served as the gathering place for the relatives and friends who met to make their offerings to the manes and observe, with proper ceremonies, the anniversaries of the deaths of the occupants of the tomb, which, as we have already said, was often elaborately embellished in a manner not excelled by any other existing specimens of Roman decorative art. One is surprised that such art should have been lavished on many chambers that could only have been lighted by lamps, and even this on rare occasions.

In ancient times all roads out of Rome were closely bordered with tombs and monuments, and as those who erected the fine memorial structures wished them to be seen, the land directly on the roads became enormously dear in price, and at the end of the inscription it was customary to record the size of the lot in a formula like this: "Sixteen feet frontage by twenty-two feet deep."

The cinerary urns were of various forms and size; from a small earthenware pot, which would barely contain the ashes of a slave, to the most costly vases of marble and alabaster, beautifully cut with figures and conventional designs.

An urn now in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, a circular vessel, is cut from the precious onyx described by Pliny; large glass vases were used for the ashes, and when the urn or vase was very fine it was usually enclosed in a case of lead, or a jar of coarse pottery, for its protection.

The vast number of tombs discovered and examined within the last quarter of a century have served through inscriptions and various objects to give us a certain sense

of familiarity, not only with the customs of the early Romans, but with their more intimate life, and sentiments, which in many regards are such as command our sympathy and respect. For example, the following inscriptions express pagan sentiments that any Christian might adopt, and address to the one God as these were addressed to the many.

On the grave of a freedman was the following ascription from his fellow-servant: "I know that there never was a shade of disagreement between thee and me; never a cloud passed over our common happiness. I swear to the gods of Heaven and Hell, that we worked faithfully and lovingly together; that we were set free from servitude on the same day and in the same house: nothing would ever have separated us, except this fatal hour." A young widow thus inscribed the tomb of her husband: "To the adorable, blessed soul of ——. We knew, we loved each other from childhood: married, an impious hand separated us at once. Oh, infernal gods, do be kind and merciful to him, and let him appear to me in the silent hours of the night. And also let me share his fate, that we may be reunited *dulcius et celerius.*"

A discovery of the greatest interest was made in April, 1485. In the many accounts which have been written of it, there are errors, but the following is the plain, simple truth as nearly as it can be discovered, which has received the approval of the most exact and careful archæologists of the present day. The discovery was made by the monks of S. Maria Nuova, now known as S. Francesca Romana. The spot was five miles from the gate, on the east side of the Appian Way. A sarcophagus was discovered, embedded in foundation walls, and sealed with molten lead. When the coffin was opened there was a strong odour of turpentine and myrrh, and the body of a young woman was seen: the hair was blond and bound with a fillet: the flesh had a

life-like colour, and the hands and feet were elastic. The following account was written at the time by Daniele da San Sebastiano, and is dated 1485:

"In the course of excavations which were made on the Appian Way, to find stones and marbles, three marble tombs have been discovered during these last days, sunk twelve feet below the ground. One was of Terentia Tulliola, daughter of Cicero; the other had no epitaph. One of them contained a young girl, intact in all her members, covered from head to foot with a coating of aromatic paste, one inch thick. On the removal of this coating, which we believe to be composed of myrrh, frankincense, aloe and other priceless drugs, a face appeared, so lovely, so pleasing, so attractive, that, although the girl had certainly been dead fifteen hundred years, she appeared to have been laid to rest that very day. The thick masses of hair, collected on top of the head in the old style, seemed to have been combed then and there. The eyelids could be opened and shut; the ears and nose were so well preserved that, after being bent to one side or the other, they instantly resumed their original shape. By pressing the flesh of the cheeks the colour would disappear as in a living body. The tongue could be seen through the pink lips; the articulations of the hands and feet still retained their elasticity."

This was so remarkable a circumstance that it may be interesting to quote from another letter which confirms this, and is in the Munich library, dated April 15, 1485:

"Some workmen engaged in searching for stones and marbles have discovered [there] a marble coffin of great beauty, with a female body in it, wearing a knot of hair on the back of her head, in the fashion now popular among the Hungarians.

"It was covered with a cap of woven gold and tied with golden strings. Cap and strings were stolen at the moment of the discovery, together with a ring which she wore on the second finger of the left hand. The eyes were open, and the body preserved such elasticity that the flesh would yield to pressure, and regain its natural shape immediately.

"The form of the body was beautiful in the extreme; the appearance was that of a girl of twenty-five. Many identify her as Tulliola, daughter of Cicero, and I am ready to believe so, because

I have seen, close by there, a tombstone with the name of Marcus Tullius; and because Cicero is known to have owned lands in the neighbourhood. Never mind whose daughter she was; she was certainly noble and rich by birth. The body owed its preservation to a coating of ointment two inches thick, composed of myrrh, balm, and oil of cedar. The skin was white, soft, and perfumed. Words cannot describe the number and the excitement of the multitudes who rushed to admire this marvel. To make matters easy, the Conservatori have agreed to move the beautiful body to the Capitol. One would think there is some great indulgence and remission of sins to be gained by climbing that hill, so great is the crowd, especially of women, attracted by the sight."

This marvellously preserved body showed signs of decay on the third day, which was thought to be due to the removal of the coating of ointment. It is not possible to know whose body was thus discovered; many counterfeit inscriptions have been produced to suit the speculations concerning it, but there is nothing in existence, yet known, that can be considered as genuine; the fate of the body is equally unknown, although untrustworthy reports consigned it to a grave near the Porta Salaria, and to the Tiber! by command of the pope.

GOLD BRACELET.

A second most interesting sarcophagus was found in May, 1889, near the Castle of S. Angelo.

It was embedded in clay twenty-five feet below the city level, and was so heavy that it could not well be moved, and was opened where it had so long been buried. The

inscription was simply the name, Crepereia Tryphæna, and a bas-relief represented the scene of her death.

On opening the coffin it was found that water had filtered into it, and with it had brought the seeds of a water plant, and these settling on the skull, had sent out long, glossy, dark threads that gave the appearance of a mass of hair which floated on the water, and at the first sight produced a startling effect.

Gold ear-rings with pearl drops were lying on each side of the head; a gold necklace with thirty-seven pendants of green jasper, a brooch, an amethyst intaglio, and four gold finger rings, were all found where they had dropped among the bones, when the flesh had disappeared. There was also an inlaid box, fallen apart, which had contained toilet articles: a mirror of polished steel, a silver cosmetic box, an amber hair pin, two combs, a piece of soft leather that would correspond to chamois skin, and some bits of sponge.

JOINTED DOLL.

A wreath of myrtle which had been placed about her forehead, the name of Philetus, engraved on one of the finger rings, and the quality of such fragments of her clothes as remained, made it probable that she was buried in her bridal attire; for beside the myrtle or bridal crown, there was, lying on her shoulder, a beautiful little doll, which accords with this theory. It had undoubtedly been dressed, judging from some miniature housewives' key rings remaining in the thumb of the right hand. It was of oak, beautifully modelled and carved, and although the water had hardened it like metal, the joints at hips, knees, shoulders and elbows were still perfect: this doll is about twelve inches high and is one of the most admirable ever found in

Roman excavations. The form of the letters used in the name indicates that they were cut about the beginning of the third century of the Christian era, and the style of the bas-relief is also of this period.

It does not seem from any apparent indication that she was of noble rank, and her name, Tryphæna, belonged to a family of freedmen who had once been servants of the noble Creperei.

There is no doubt that she was a betrothed maiden and that Philetus, whose name is engraved on one of her rings, was the happy lover, with whom she had exchanged betrothal vows, as another ring with the clasped hands would indicate.

The presence in the coffin of the little doll and the myrtle wreath — a nuptial crown — indicates that the wedding was near at hand. A careful examination of the fragments of clothes which remained, showed that they were from several kinds of materials as well as of linen, and the entire conditions led to the opinion that this girl was dressed in her full bridal costume when she was laid in her burial case.

Among the numberless tombs that have been discovered in and near Rome, perhaps none has a sweeter and more human interest — such as appeals to all men of all centuries — than that of Minicia Marcella, daughter of Minucius Fundanus, of whom Pliny the Younger wrote most feelingly, saying that he was deeply saddened and distressed at her death. He represented her as extremely lovable and bright, and declared her to be "worthy not only of a longer life, but I might almost say of immortality."

Although but thirteen years old, she exhibited a wonderful strength of character in the way in which she supported the suffering from a fatal disease, and also found the courage and self-control to console the members of her family who were overwhelmed with grief; maintaining the "declining strength of her body with the vigour of her mind." This maiden was already betrothed, and it was a great shock to

Pliny when he heard her father direct that the money which had been put aside for her marriage trousseau should be expended on her funeral and cremation.

I dare say that no one of the thousands who have read this letter of Pliny's in the centuries that have passed since its writing, have dreamed of seeing the burial chamber of this lovely girl and the exquisite urn — purchased with money that was to have furnished forth her bridal — in which her ashes were placed. But a few years ago, when excavations were made for a moat to the new fortress on Monte Mario, this tomb was found.

It was a room twenty-seven feet square, of a plain and simple architecture, with whitewashed walls, brick pavement and doorsteps, and posts of ordinary stone. Seventeen centuries and a half elapsed after the death of Minicia Marcella before its door was opened to admit the nineteenth-century archæologist who entered with reverence this sacred tomb. There were six marble sarcophagi without inscriptions, ranged against the sides of the cell. The cinerary urn of the mother of Minicia, Statoria Marcella, was near the entrance.

In the centre of the room was an exquisitely carved and ornamented piece of fine marble, which bore this inscription: "D. M. MINICIÆ. MARCELLÆ. FUNDANI. F. VIX. A. XII. M. XI. D. VII., which may be translated: "To the soul of Minicia Marcella, daughter of Fundanus; died at the age of twelve years, eleven months, and seven days."

Pliny's celebrated letter was written to his friend Marcellinus, whom he urges to comfort Fundanus in his affliction; it ends with one of the most beautiful sentences among the many that one loves, in the writings of this valued author.

"As it happens that the wounded body dreads, at first, the hand of the surgeon, later endures it, and finally seeks it with anxiety, so the soul, depressed or bent down with sorrow or grief, rebels, at first, against words of comfort, later hears them with resignation, and lastly seeks them as the sweetest balsam for a wounded heart."

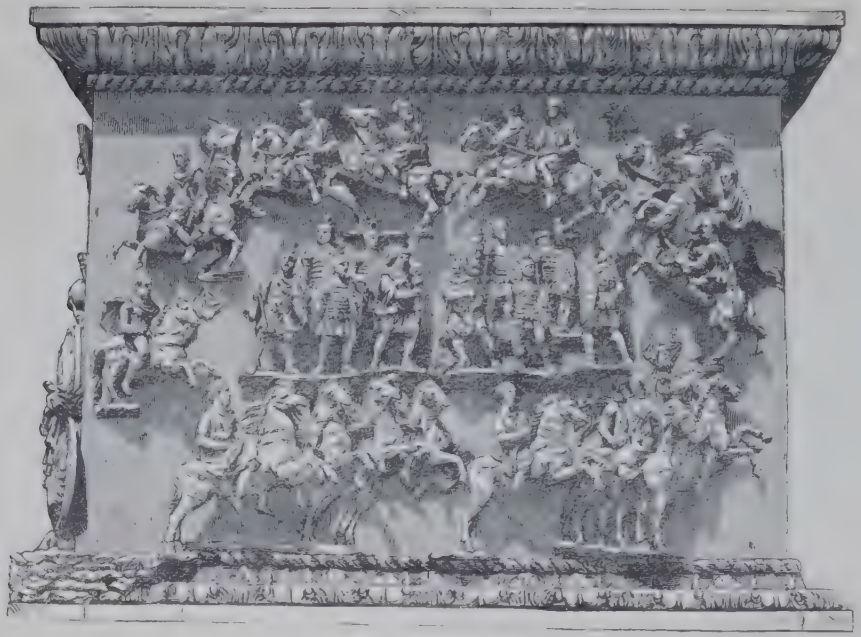
MESSALINA.

The memorials of the Minicii are now in the museum in the Baths of Diocletian.

In 1887, when the Corso d' Italia was constructed, a cemetery was opened up which lay between the Villa Borghese and the prætorian camp, and in nine months eight hundred and fifty-five tombs were discovered.

This cemetery, which was essentially that of military men, was crossed by high-roads, on which were the tombs of well-known families, and one of these, belonging to the Licinii Calpurnii, is very interesting, not only as being the richest burial-place discovered in years, but also because its story involves one of the most outrageous crimes of Messalina, the infamous third wife of the Emperor Claudius.

Marcus Licinius Crassus Frugi, Consul in 27 A. D., was the husband of Scribonia, and they had three sons. They committed the folly of naming the eldest Pompeius Magnus, after the grandfather of his mother, which was an error of undue pride, since the boy had warrants enough to an aristocratic position without this name. Caligula was offended by it and threatened to kill the boy, but thought better of it and permitted him to live. However, he took away the name, which Claudius restored to the young man as a wedding gift, when he also gave him his daughter Antonia in marriage. But the grace, the success, and the nobility of the youth, as well as his alliance with the Emperor, excited the hatred of Messalina, and she persuaded Claudius to pass the death sentence, not only on Pompeius, but on his parents also. They were all executed in 47 A. D. The second son, Licinius Crassus, fell a victim to the tyranny of Nero, twenty years later, while the third son, who was a boy of eleven when his father was executed, spent many years in exile. His name was Lucius Calpurnius Piso Frugi Licinianus, and being quite alone in the world, Galba adopted him, as heir to the Sulpician estates, and finally, in 69 A. D., named him as his successor. Four days after this crowning favour, the prætorian rebels murdered both the Emperor and his favourite, and presented the head of the latter to his young widow. Still another member of the family, Calpurnius Licinianus, having conspired against Nerva and later against Trajan, was banished to a solitary island and lost his life in an attempt to escape.



PROCESSION OF KNIGHTS AT THE FUNERAL OF ANTONINUS. FROM THE ANTONINE COLUMN.

The ashes of seven members of this fated family had been enclosed in the tomb which was discovered, but even here their misfortunes had followed them, for their urns had been violated, their ashes scattered, and the inscriptions mutilated. These last were most dignified, when the manner of their deaths is remembered. That of the victim of Messalina's hate, after giving his name and other honours, ends with the words: "quæstor of the Emperor Claudius, his father-in-law." When we reflect that the death sentence of the young man was signed by this same "father-in-law," there is an apparent irony in the otherwise unpretentious inscription.

An inner chamber contained ten sarcophagi, void of inscriptions, but all choice works of art; fine examples of the marble work of the second century after Christ. Some of them were not elaborately, but elegantly decorated with wreaths, masks, genii, etc. Others related to the story of Bacchus, while the finest represents the rape of the daughters of Leukippos by Castor and Pollux.

The accounts of these interesting discoveries as given by the learned archæologists of our day, who with reverence preserve and study carefully all the treasures they bring to light, would far exceed the space that can be given to them here. I will, however, speak of one other, which, though not the burial-place of an aristocrat, is characteristic of ancient Rome, and thus of interest.

It is the tomb of a boot and shoe maker, discovered in 1887. It is cut in Carrara marble, and the bust of the owner is in a square niche, above which, in an arched pediment, the signs of his occupation are placed, in the form of two lasts; one of these being covered with a *caliga*, as worn by military men, signifies the department of his trade in which he excelled. The shoe-makers were a proud and powerful guild from the time of the kings; at their club a religious ceremony was observed in March, and several bas-

reliefs and sarcophagi found in other parts of Italy prove that their reputability was not confined to Rome.

To return to the tomb with the busts and lasts, its inscription reads thus: "Caius Julius Helius, shoe-maker at the Porta Pontinalis, built this tomb during his lifetime for himself, his daughter Julia Flaccilla, his freedman Caius Julius Onesimus, and his other servants."

A refreshing, plain statement, which reminds one that between the aristocrats who had such a propensity for murdering and being murdered, and the poor slaves, whose ashes were preserved in the little common pottery vases, there existed in Rome a self-respecting and respected class who maintained their proper position with dignity and performed the duties of their estate with faithfulness.

The Columbaria of servants of the imperial and wealthy families of Rome were the result of organisations among this class for the purpose of being properly cared for after death; as they desired, not only a reputable tomb, but a suitable funeral, and the commemoration of the anniversary of their death. In many families the number of servants was so large that the *collegium*, as it was called, included those of a single household only; sometimes the servants of several families joined in the purchase of the Columbarium, and not infrequently the master of a large household presented the tomb to his attendants. Each cinerary urn was inscribed with the name and office of the deceased, and one of these burial-places that is found still undisturbed, discloses much regarding the organisation and mode of life of the family to which it pertained.

Among the large number of this class of tombs which have been examined, two are of especial interest, one being that of the servants of the Empress Livia, the other that of the Statilii, a family connected with the imperial family by the marriage of Statilia Messalina with the Emperor Claudius. That of the Statilii was first examined in 1875, and again

LIVIA, VEILED AS PRIESTESS OF AUGUSTUS.

in 1880, and more than eight hundred inscriptions were brought to light there, while in the tomb of the servants of the Empress Livia alone, there were at least six hundred burials. In this and other tombs belonging to the large household of Augustus not less than six thousand servants have been discovered to have been buried. Augustus

reigned almost fifty years, and naturally made many changes among his attendants, and occasionally the wife and children of a servant were allowed to be buried near him; but any possible explanation fails to make this number of family servants credible, had we not the evidence of eye-witnesses to the facts, with their records concerning them.

However, when we realise how the duties of servants were divided and what specialists these people became, we can understand that an army of them was required. For example, Livia had a keeper of the purple robes; a keeper of morning dresses; a keeper of the imperial robe; a keeper of state robes; a keeper of overcoats; one of manufactured woollen goods, and many folders of clothes. In the strictly personal service she had a general officer; a specialist in hair-dressing; a keeper of perfumery; eight goldsmiths and many jewellers; a regulator of the temperature of the bath; a maker and care-taker of imperial shoes; a keeper of sandals; and various others whose titles suggest the slightest possible services. In the care of silver and gold plate a great number were occupied, and some important duties fell upon the keeper of the chair of the Empress and the governess of her pet dog. There was a keeper of family portraits, with his underlings, and for the attendance of the servants there were many physicians of both sexes, who were all superintended by a head physician. If the dispositions of servants in those days were at all the same as in our own, it would seem to have been a necessity that the master or mistress should have the power to inflict severe penalties — perhaps even that of death — in order to preserve so much as an outward semblance of peace and quiet.

The retinue of servants attached to one Statilius Taurus and his children numbered very nearly four hundred, among whom some held peculiar offices. For example, there was a collector of legacies and bequests; a keeper of the clothes of the grandfather; a boy to carry an overcoat, etc.,

besides those with the duties of ordinary life, which were in large numbers. There were comparatively few women among the employed, and these were principally occupied in carding wool, which was also done by Roman ladies until

SARCOPHAGUS WITH BACCHANTES, IN HIGH RELIEF.

the time of the Empire, and the highest compliment to a woman was to say that she remained much in her own house and carded wool.

This Statilius Taurus must have been very rich, and of high rank, and a conservative as well, since he kept up old customs and had his private wool manufactory, which we may believe to have been distinctly separated from the men's quarters; as among the inscriptions are those of a female director of the factory; a weaver and carder; and many dressmakers and spinners, all women. One can easily imagine the anxieties that were spared these servants

as they grew old and feeble, by the assurance that their special Columbaria afforded them, of a proper funeral and a safe place for the preservation of their ashes; and, above all, the peace of believing that the ceremonies necessary to the rest of their Manes would not be neglected.

There is one characteristic of the pagan tombs that is in happy contrast with the Christian burial-places, of which I shall next speak; it is an air of serenity and peace which always approaches and sometimes attains to cheerfulness. The fresh and unfading colours that are seen on the paintings when the tombs are newly opened; the flowers, fruits, birds, landscapes, musical instruments, and graceful figures in both pictures and reliefs; and Death himself a youthful winged genius with an inverted torch, are all in such a different spirit from the emblems of sadness and the grinning skeletons of Christian sepulchres as to lead to reflections and to questions. Why should it be so, if with Saint Paul we can say, "to die is gain, and whether we die, we die unto the Lord"?

May it not have been that the custom of frequently gathering the family together in these tombs — having faithfully observed all the ceremonies for the happiness of the dead that paganism demanded — imparted a sentiment of nearness to those not living, which gave to grief the character of tender regret, rather than that of the utter desolation that follows a fuller sense of absolute separation?

SARCOPHAGUS.

CHAPTER VI.

CHRISTIAN CATACOMBS AND BURIAL-PLACES.

AS I wander on the Campagna and drive over the old roads leading from Rome, I recall the words of our rare countryman, who knew his Rome so well, — the poet-sculptor, Story: —

"Dead generations lie under your feet wherever you tread. The place is haunted by ghosts that outnumber by myriads the living, and the air is filled with a tender sentiment of sadness which makes the beauty of the world about you more touching. . . . There are the dark labyrinthine galleries of the Catacombs, intersecting everywhere the Campagna underground with their burrowing network. Here, in the black tunnelled streets of this subterranean city, is a mighty population of the dead. Tier above tier, story above story, in their narrow walled-up houses, for miles and miles along these sad and silent avenues, lie the skeletons of martyred and persecuted Christians, each with his lachrymatory, now dry, and his little lamp, which went out in the darkness more than fifteen centuries ago. . . . Such is the Campagna of Rome: to me it seems the most beautiful and the most touching in its interest of all places I have ever seen."

It is only possible for me to give a mere outline of the story of Christian burial-places at Rome, as will be seen when we consider the extent of the Catacombs. Mr. Northcote, in his work on these cemeteries, estimates that the Catacomb of S. Agnes alone has fifteen or sixteen miles of streets, and thinks that nine hundred miles are not too many at which to

place the length of the passages in the Catacombs as a whole. The cells or tombs line both sides of these pathways, and are in rows, one above the other, sometimes as many as seven or eight high; bodies were also buried beneath the floors, and when all the usual places were filled the vaults were

A GRAVE-DIGGER.

even broken through and bodies placed above them. According to Padre Marchi, who computes that every seven feet has an average of ten receptacles for the dead, the Roman Catacombs could contain nearly seven million graves.

In 1860 it was calculated by Michele Stefano de Rossi, that the galleries of the Catacombs, within a circuit of three miles from the gates of Servius, measured five hundred and eighty-seven geographical miles; and if the average of burials were calculated at two for each metre, the whole number

would be at least one million seven hundred and seventy-two.

The construction of these burial cities involved the excavation and taking away of ninety-six million cubic feet of rock! From Northcote's "epitaphs" we learn that in 1878 fifteen thousand epitaphs belonging to the first six centuries of our era, and mostly taken from the Catacombs, had been examined, and that the annual contribution of such epitaphs averaged five hundred. He also says: —

"From the collections made in the eighth and ninth centuries it appears that there were once at least one hundred and seventy ancient Christian inscriptions in Rome, which had an historical or monumental character; written generally in metre, and to be seen at that time in the places they were intended to illustrate. Of these only twenty-six remain, either whole or in parts.

"In the Roman topographies of the seventh century, one hundred and forty sepulchres of famous martyrs and confessors are enumerated; we have recovered but twenty inscribed memorials, to assist us in the identification of these. Only nine epitaphs have come to light belonging to the bishops of Rome during the same six centuries; and yet, during that period, there were certainly buried in the suburbs of the city upwards of sixty. Thus, whatever facts we take as the basis of our calculation, it would seem that scarcely a seventh part of the wealth of the Roman Church, in memorials of this kind, has survived the wreck of ages; and De Rossi gives it as his conviction that there were once more than one hundred thousand of them."

According to Roman law, as has been mentioned, all burial-places were inviolable, and although there were certain conditions that must be complied with in the original interment or in the removal of a body from one tomb to another, the Christians were not subjected to great embarrassments unless in some exceptional cases, where the high-priests, having the care of the cemeteries, could insist upon certain pagan ceremonies in connection with burials. But, as a

rule, the magistrates were not tyrannical, except in times of persecution. The early Christians were not forced to use underground cemeteries to any such extent as was their custom; their preference for them probably depended on their freedom to use these crypts for such services as might have been disturbed if celebrated in a more public place, and also on the fact of the burial of Christ, which must have exerted a powerful influence on their minds. It was not uncommon, however, for the early Christians to bury in surface cemeteries, and, indeed, there were many places where the rocks beneath the soil were so hard and solid as to forbid the excavation of catacomb galleries, and graves were a necessity. Together with the Jews, the Christians had freedom of faith and life during the first century of their era, as is proved by the public manner in which Saint Paul was received by them, and the liberty with which he lived during "two whole years in his own hired house, and received all that came in unto him, preaching the kingdom of God and teaching those things which concern the Lord Jesus Christ, with all confidence, no man forbidding him." Acts xxviii. 30, 31. But as he attributed the fact that he was brought a prisoner to Rome to the action of the Jews in Jerusalem, so, as Suetonius writes, the persecution under Claudius was the result of the rising alarm of the Jews, at the preaching of Christ's religion in their synagogue.

Naturally neither Jew nor Christian commended himself to the pagan Romans; they despised all "Jews" equally, but they did not propose to persecute any religion, and a careful study of the testimony in the case must fix the responsibility of the initial persecution on the Hebrews. This movement was a failure and ended in the banishment of both Jews and Christians from Rome, although they soon began to return and occupy their old quarters on the farther side of the Tiber. But from this time until after Nero's death the existence of the Christians was one of such

constant vexation and uncertainty that one easily understands that some place of assembly as safe as a catacomb was much to be desired by them.

As we have elsewhere stated, long periods of peace intervened between the persecutions, and it must have been in such days that the great work of constructing the Catacombs was done, for it could not have been performed in secret, nor at a time when the Christians were under suspicion and constraint. Indeed, the earliest Christian tombs were neither hidden nor dark, as is verified by that of the members of Domitian's family who became Christians. It was rather unusually conspicuous, being cut in a high cliff on the Via Ardeatina, — now Via delle Sette Chiese, — and was as conspicuous as any pagan tomb, being plainly seen from the high-road. The approach to this crypt was through a vestibule, richly ornamented, with an inscription on the frieze. The ceiling of this vestibule was painted with Biblical scenes which could be examined by all passers, through an open door, no concealment being affected; and but a few steps in the interior of this tomb takes one to the spot where was found an inscription declaring that the founder built it for himself and his relatives, *provided they were Christians.*

But, as time wore on, many circumstances led the Christians to court more seclusion and secrecy, and towards the end of the first century an extraordinary movement was initiated in the building of catacombs, which continued many years. The real ownership of these underground cemeteries was vested in the person who owned the land above them, and they were named accordingly, — Apronianus, Novella, etc., — and it was not until after the full freedom of the Church, when the Catacombs became places of pilgrimage and public worship, that they bore the names of saints buried in them.

At the same time they became better known to the world and were visited as interesting spectacles and as wonders

by both Romans and travellers, as they still are. But, as might have been prophesied, the peace of the Church caused the forsaking of the Catacombs. The Popes had been interred there, but Sylvester, who died 336 A. D., was buried

SAINT CYPRIAN AND SAINT LAWRENCE. FROM A GILDED GLASS OF THE CATACOMBS.

in a chapel built for the purpose, above the Catacomb of Priscilla, and this example was followed afterwards, so far as the underground cemeteries were concerned. The only inducement to use the Catacombs after this period was that of being interred near the tomb of a martyr; and so desir-

able was this deemed, that during another century burials in the Catacombs were not uncommon; but by 410 A. D., they were essentially abandoned, while the surface cemeteries were improved and became more acceptable, especially those of S. Paolo and S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura. One cannot say how long the use of the Catacombs would have been continued by the conservative Christian Romans had not Alaric and his Goths, Christians though they were, rifled these burial-places and destroyed the inscriptions.

It is not probable that the Barbarians could read either Latin or Greek, and until a tomb was opened and the cross and other Christian symbols brought to view, they could not distinguish between pagan and Christian tombs. But they doubtless sought for hidden treasure or were bent on discovering relics of saints, which were of great value.

Perhaps there should be some excuses made for these vandals when we remember that their camps were so situated that ordinary military precautions to avoid surprises from an enemy, would demand the examination of the subterranean Catacombs and their tortuous passages, in which an army of enemies might very possibly conceal themselves. It is known that their encampment on the Via Labicana was over the Catacombs of Peter and Marcellinus; and that on the Via Salaria was above those of Thrason.

After the Goths retreated, Pope Virgilius did what he could to repair the injuries to the Catacombs, and in each of these cemeteries inscriptions concerning his effort have been found, as well as very considerable traces of his work of restoration, which must have been taken up at his first opportunity and pursued with zeal, since the Goths did not leave Rome until March, 537 A. D., and this Pope went, in the next November, to visit Constantinople, and never saw Rome again. Following his example, other popes and private persons, as well, carried on restorations in several burial-places, or "sacred caverns," as they were

termed in an inscription that was discovered in 1881. From about 500 A. D. cemeteries began to be established within the circuit of the city walls, and some authorities, considering how very strictly the Roman law had prohibited this, attribute the change to the inroads made in the Catacombs by the Goths. No doubt the feeling of insecurity led to the desertion of suburban tombs, but it had begun as early as the reign of Theodoric, 493–526 A. D., when Christians were buried in the gardens of Mæcenas and in the Prætorian camp. About the middle of the seventh century the movement to place the bodies of the martyrs in safety within the city was inaugurated. It was left, however, to Pope Paschal I., 817–824 A. D., to remove twenty-three hundred bodies, as is related in a marble inscription which has been preserved. Paschal had built the chapel of S. Zeno in S. Prassede, as a memorial to his mother, and the largest number of these bodies were reinterred beneath this chapel. This Pope was also fortunate enough to find the relics of Saint Cæcilia, which, together with those of Valerianus, Tiburtius, and Maximus, he removed to the Church of S. Cæcilia. The Pope wrote a letter to the people of Rome, telling them in what manner he found the body of the gentle saint in the Catacombs of S. Callixtus. After a long and unsuccessful search he had come to believe that the precious relics of Saint Cæcilia had been stolen by the Lombards.

But he had a vision of the saint, in which she told him where to find her grave, and following her directions he found not only the crypt and coffin of the saint, but those of fourteen popes also. The discoveries of 1850, and three years later, confirm Pope Paschal's account in all its material details. There is no doubt that the use of the Catacombs ceased in the middle of the ninth century, as then all authoritative records of them end, as do also the valuable itineraries made by pilgrims to these shrines, such as those of Einsiedeln, William of Malmesbury, and others.

The pilgrims also wrote on the walls of the tombs such sentences as have an absolute historical value, since they were written truthfully and in sincerity, with no thought that they would be read by all nations a thousand years after they were inscribed.

Archæologists and those who care for the facts that are learned through their exertions, will never cease to regret that concerning the discovery of a Christian cemetery in the spring of 1578, we have but words remaining. We are told of the underground cemetery, its decorations, inscriptions, and sarcophagi, but none of these now exist; and although there was an intense excitement over the event, and though Baronius — who speaks of them more than once in his annals — and other prominent men visited the spot, no one thought of preserving the objects in it, nor of caring for the place itself. This is considered as the birth of Christian Archæology, but its value was realised by no one at the time. From the remaining accounts one gets the impression that the extent of the cemetery, and the manner of its construction; the skylights and wells; the great number of *loculi*, and the skill with which the altar tombs and other objects had been made, were of even greater interest to the visitors than the frescoes and other decorations. According to the testimony, however, it seems that the greater part of the Scriptural stories were painted there, and the bas-reliefs on the coffins represented scenes which required many figures, such as those from pastoral life and Christian love-feasts. Within fifteen years every remnant of this important discovery had disappeared.

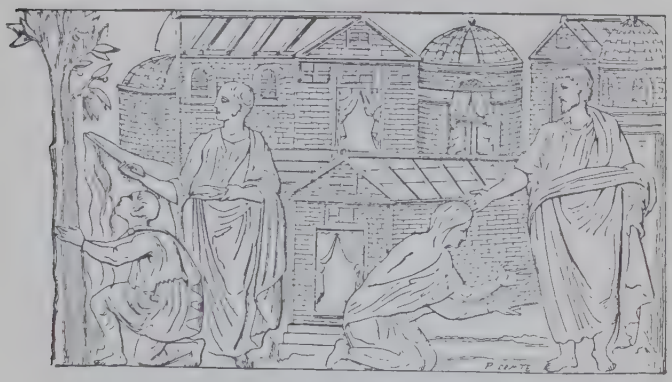
These facts have a greater value than is involved in their more apparent signification. No one can even approximately estimate the vast amount of treasure which mother earth so safely guarded for centuries, only that it should be destroyed when revealed to men. Such facts strike one forcibly when visiting the spots with which they

are concerned. I well remember the disappointment I felt at the desolation of Ephesus, and the horror at the thought that nothing had been treasured of its remains; and when, a few months later, at Larnica, I stood in the midst of the excavations conducted by Cesnola, and saw the precious objects which were thrown out at my very feet, so carefully and even tenderly cared for, I got an impression of the advance in knowledge and appreciation which pertains to our day, for which I have ever been grateful. On other occasions in Athens and Cairo, when I have experienced the delight of studying the most recent "finds," there has always been a background of regret at the *losts* of which I believe the half has never yet been told.

In the special subject which we are considering there is little, if any, doubt, that could the inscriptions of each burial-place, from the first to the last, have been kept together, and properly translated, we should have had a clear understanding of many matters which now are not explained by actual knowledge; logical deductions being all that can be offered in answer to many perfectly patent peculiarities, not elucidated by documents.

For example, we know that to the Christians the Catacombs were sacred, and in them Christians desired to be buried; and it would not be imagined that pagans would wish, or would be permitted, to be buried in these Christian cemeteries. But so many pagan sarcophagi, glasses, paintings, and inscriptions have been found in the Christian Catacombs as to make one very curious on this point. The most reasonable solution of this mystery is, that when a Christian was married to a pagan, the Christian family not only interred the Christian husband or wife, but included also the pagan father or mother and the children of the marriage. But the fact remains that of the inscriptions discovered in the Catacombs in the seventeenth century, a large number were pagan. On many engraved lamps and

glasses found in the Catacombs the subjects are pagan, and could not have all belonged to Christian martyrs, while many sarcophagi in the same cemeteries have pagan sculptures on them. The truth seems to be that the Catacombs in which



BAS-RELIEF FROM A SARCOPHAGUS.

the Bishops of Rome were buried were exclusively Christian, as well as other private burial-places which belonged to Christian families; but an assumption that has been often made that *all* Catacombs were for Christian burial only, cannot be maintained. It is probable that, as in the case of the Columbaria, some public catacombs existed in which burial-places could be bought by either pagans or Christians. Neither does the manner of burial afford a certain distinction between Christians and pagans, since the change from burning to that of burying came about gradually, and was not general before the third century; in fact, the tombs of the earliest cemeteries of our era were prepared to contain both cinerary urns and sarcophagi; but the Christian doctrine of the resurrection of the body, which came to be

understood in a material rather than a spiritual sense, would naturally inspire a revolt against cremation.

The Catacombs, with even the little that remains in them, are very interesting; but their historical value has been nearly lost by the utter absence of any chronological method in the care of the objects that have been taken from them and put into museums and collections here and there the world over. The difference in actual value between an inscription of the second century and one of the ninth is immense, and if the Catacombs could have been scientifically treated, or left as they were found, their interest and value could not be exaggerated.

A Catacomb excavated in 1868, under the superintendence of Commendatore de Rossi, at the College of the Arvales, called that of S. Generosa, was largely undisturbed, the graves being closed by tiles or slabs of marble, as they still are. These coverings were fastened with mortar, on which, while still wet, inscriptions were written which are as distinct to-day as when made; and when one thinks how many such have probably been destroyed, he realises the inestimable loss for which there can be no compensation. One of these inscriptions gives names of Consuls of the fourth century, and some of the bricks and tiles have the stamp of the same period.

It seems incongruous to find a Christian cemetery in the grove of the Arvales, and apparently indicates that some of these priests of the goddess Dia must have been converted to Christianity; but a more probable conclusion is that the college was abolished in the third century, and the land thus left free for a Christian burial-place in the fourth. At all events, the remains of the college still existing seem to be of the third century. At the end of that period, in the persecution under Diocletian, two brothers, Simplicius and Faustinus, were martyred, and their bodies, which were thrown into the Tiber, were recovered by their sister

THE GOOD SHEPHERD, FROM THE CRYPT OF LUCINA.

Victrix or Beatrix, who buried them in a small catacomb which had been built within the boundary of the grove of the Arvales, by a woman called Generosa. Beatrix was received into a house of the Lucinas, but her pious deed coming to the knowledge of the persecutors, she, too, was murdered, and Lucina caused her body to be buried beside that of her brothers.

This story exists in documents of the period of the persecution. Pope Damasus raised a small oratory to this trio of martyrs, which is a warrant for the truth of the story, since he had been cognisant of the details of the persecution, having been a stenographer and notary of the Church of Rome.

In 682 A. D. it was thought best to remove the relics of the martyrs within the city for safety, and they were taken to the Church of S. Bibiana, on the Esquiline, and placed in a sarcophagus, which, with its inscription, still survives. Near the entrance to the catacomb are the ruins of a small chapel, which was probably of the fourth century, and a small portion of the inscription above the door has been preserved: it is in the beautiful characters of all the Damasian inscriptions.

There was but one painted chamber in this catacomb, and that appears to be a work of the sixth century. The picture represents the Saviour with his right hand raised in blessing four saints, by whom he is surrounded, each holding the martyr's crown in his hand. In his left hand Christ holds the Gospel in a jewelled binding. Under the feet are lines like waves, symbolising the Tiber, into which they had been thrown. It is probable that many of the paintings in the Catacombs are portraits of the persons buried, and are surrounded by emblems of their faith. There seems also to have been a certain garb considered appropriate to such pictures, which is like a surplice and stole, the last being an emblem of the yoke of Christ. Ladies of wealth are sometimes represented with a fringe on the surplice and embroidery on the stole.

Most of the catacomb paintings are of the eighth and ninth centuries. Doubtless many of them were earlier works repaired, and the original designs preserved. The art of painting was at its best in the first century, and gradually declined, but had not reached so sad a state in the

fourth century as is seen in many of the catacomb decorations. This can be verified by comparison with the designs of some of the mosaics in churches of the fourth century,

THE RAISING OF LAZARUS. FROM A GILT GLASS.

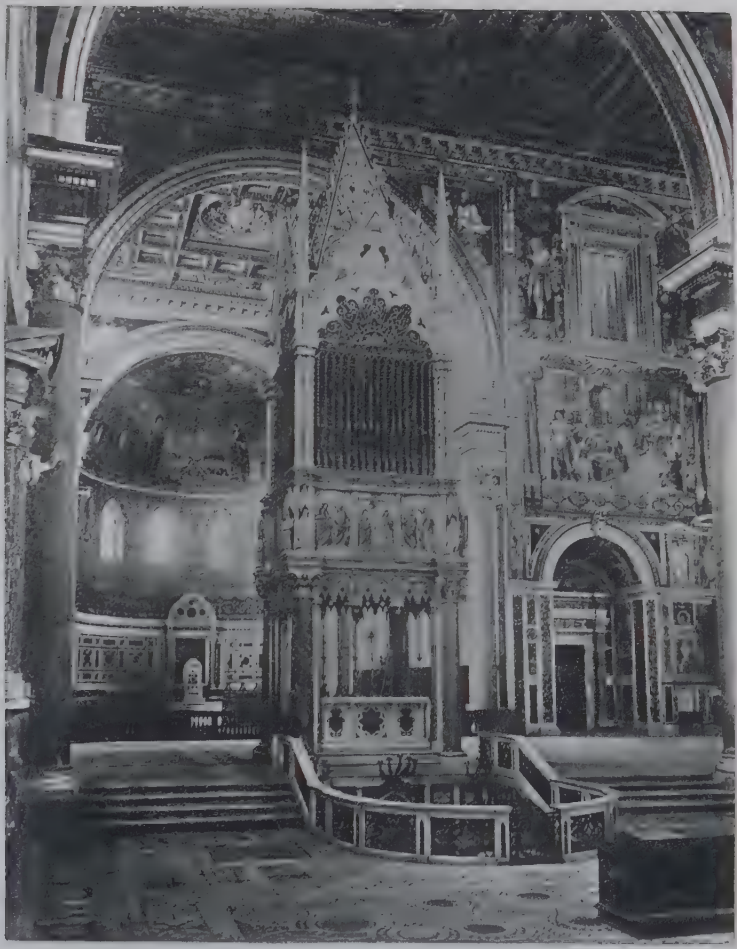
which favours the conclusion that the most inartistic painting of the Catacombs was of later date. Paintings of the first century were discovered in 1714 in the tomb of the Flavian family. They became so famous for their beauty

that great numbers of people went to see them, but an attempt which was made to remove them resulted in their destruction.

The writers of the fourth and fifth centuries refer to the painted vaults of the Catacombs as being used for feasts, as were the tombs of the pagans. The hymns of Prudentius and the letters of Paulinus of Nola and S. Augustine also mention these observances. And in a sermon on the martyrs by Theodoret, about 450 A. D., these words occur: —

"Our Lord God leads His own even after death into the temples for your Gods, and renders them vain and empty; but to these — Martyrs — He renders the honours previously paid to them. For your daily food and your sacred and other feasts of Peter, Paul, and Thomas, and Sergius and Marcellinus and Leontius, and Antoninus and Mauricius, and other martyrs, the solemnities are performed; and in place of the old base pomp and obscene words and acts, their modest festivities are celebrated, not with drunkenness and obscene and ludicrous exhibitions, but with hearing divine songs and holy sermons, and prayers and praises adorned with tears."

Many of the glasses from the Catacombs appear to have been for use on commemorative occasions from their inscriptions, such as: — "Life and happiness to thee and thine;" "A mark of friendship drunk, and long life to them and theirs." Some of the drinking glasses have coins of the third century on them, while many are of a much later period. One sometimes wonders at certain objects which have been found in the Catacombs that seem inappropriate to the place, but we are told that in times when the burials were most numerous, and tablets could not at once be procured, the survivors marked the graves with various objects for identification, such as cameos, medallions, glass cups or vessels and ornaments made from rock crystal, intaglios, etc. Some of the choicest gems and coins in European cabinets were found in the Catacombs; for example, a splendid cameo representing a Bacchanalian scene, now in



the Vatican Library, which measures sixteen by ten inches, and many other treasures of greater or less value and rarity.

The glass cups and vases and the portions of them which have been taken from the Catacombs, having Christian designs in their ornamentation, are usually much ruder and more inartistic than those of pagan origin, and must have been made at a period when art was at a low estate, and by inferior workmen, as is proved by the frequent incorrect spelling upon them.

In visiting Catacombs, or in reading of the wonders connected with them and other cemeteries, one is often reminded that "in Rome, more than in any other city of the world, does investigation lead one in the footsteps of Death."

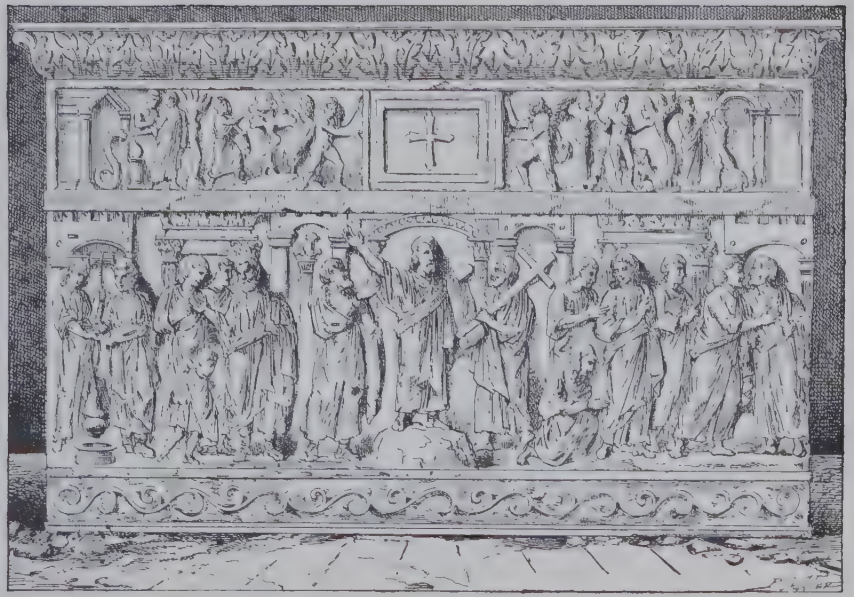
No tomb has been discovered of greater interest or importance than that of Pope Cornelius, the Martyr, not only on account of the story of his sacrifice of his life to the faith that was in him, but because it was believed from a statement in the Liber Pontificalis that the discovery of his tomb would lead to that of others very near it, as it proved to do. In 1849, while the archæologist De Rossi was searching for clues to the sites of cemeteries which he knew must be near the Via Appia, he came upon a fragment of an inscription in these letters, the first portion being destroyed. . . . ELIVS MARTYR. Greatly excited by this, in which he saw the promise of important discoveries, De Rossi at once sought to persuade Pope Pius IX. to purchase the Vigna Motinari, in which the fragment had been found. The Pope granted the enthusiast an audience, and although he answered his communication with but four words, "*Sogni di un archeologo*" — dreams of an archæologist, — he complied with his request. Three years later a crypt was discovered, in which was found the remainder of the inscription. We can imagine the delight with which the patient discoverer conducted the Pope to the spot, and showing the complete inscription, exclaimed: "Sogni di un archeologo!" The

historical fact as it had been learned in the Liber Pontificalis, was to the effect that the Emperor Decius commanded that the Pope should be led to the Temple of Mars, outside the walls, and asked to worship at the altar of the god, and, refusing to comply, he should be beheaded.

This was done, and Lucina, with other pious helpers, removed his remains and "buried them in a crypt on her own estate *near the cemetery* of Callixtus, on the Appian Way;" and this happened on September 14, 253 A. D. An excellent reason for thus separating Cornelius from the burial-place of the popes — that of Callixtus — was the fact that a tomb of his family, the Cornelii, existed on the estate of Lucina. Its discovery would therefore greatly encourage perseverance in the search for the catacomb of Callixtus. In the crypt of Cornelius much of interest was discovered. Above the *locus* in which he was laid was an inscription in metre written by Pope Damasus, and probably the last he wrote, as his work on the tomb was finished by Siricius, 384–395 A. D., as is recorded in another inscription below the locus. That written by Damasus appears to be addressed to the pilgrims who visited the tomb, and has been thus translated: —

"Behold: a descent to the crypt has been built; darkness has been expelled: you can behold the memorial of Cornelius and his resting place. The zeal of Damasus has enabled him, though care-worn and ailing, to accomplish the work and make your pilgrimage easier and more efficacious. If you are prepared to pray to the Lord in purity of heart, entreat Him to restore Damasus to health: not that he is fond of life, but because the duties of his mission bind him still to earth."

The paintings in the crypt of Cornelius are of the Byzantine period in art. Cornelius and Cyprian of Carthage were martyred on the same day, and the church associates them on one anniversary. They are appropriately represented together, especially as they had been united in their lives,



SARCOPHAGUS. JESUS HEALING THE DEMONIAC.

and their remains also repose in the same final resting-place at Compiègne. Beneath the pictures in the tomb are two pedestals, intended to hold large, low, flat bowls, such as have been found in other tombs, made from marble, and so thin as to be transparent. It is believed that these were used for oil on which wicks were floated, and by their light pilgrims could come here to pray, even at night. In a list of oils which an abbot of Monza collected for the Lombard queen, Theodolinda, — which list is preserved in the Cathedral of Monza, — the oil of the crypt of Saint Cornelius is mentioned. Two years after the realisation of the dreams of De Rossi, the papal crypt in the Catacombs of Callixtus was found.

Near its entrance was an inscription saying: "This is the Jerusalem of the martyrs of the Lord." Several names were found in the débris which filled the tomb; and an inscription by Damasus, though in a hundred and twenty-five fragments, was rearranged and translated as follows: —

"Here lie together in great numbers the holy bodies you are seeking. These tombs contain their remains, but their souls are in the heavenly kingdom. Here you see the companions of Sixtus waving the trophies of victory; there the Bishops of Rome — who shielded the altar of Christ; the pontiff who saw the first years of peace; Melchiades, 311–314 A. D.; the noble Confessors who came to us from Greece, — Hippolytus, Hadrias, Maria, Neon, Paulina, — and others. I confess I wished most ardently to find my last resting-place among these saints, but I did not dare to disturb their remains."

The earliest pope interred here was Urban, 223–230 A. D. He was followed by Anteros, 235–236; Fabianus, 236–251; Lucius, 252–253, and Eutychianos, 275–283. It is known, however, that six other Bishops of Rome were interred here. Gaius, in 296, was laid here in the heat of Diocletian's persecution. How would the hearts of the Christians have

been cheered in the midst of their darkness and sufferings, could they have known that seventeen years would bring them peace under a Christian emperor, who would place their pope in the splendid palace of the Lateran!

Callixtus, for whom these catacombs are named, was buried elsewhere. He was killed in 223 A. D. in an outbreak of the people, when he was thrown from his window into the square now called the Piazza di Santa Maria in Trastevere, which in the fourth century was known as the *Area Callista*. Although his body was recovered by the Christians, they buried it in the nearest cemetery, which was that of Calepodius by the Via Aurelia, which catacomb is now entered from the left aisle of the church of S. Pancrazio, which has been built above it.

After the age of persecutions was passed, the Bishops of Rome continued to seek a grave near that of some holy martyr, and the time had not yet come when they could be laid to rest within the city walls. The remains of the mausoleum erected by Sylvester, 314–335 A. D., above the Catacombs of Priscilla, were found but a few years since: three other bishops were buried there; and ere long burials of bishops were made inside the churches beyond the walls, until in 461 A. D. Leo I. was interred in the vestibule of S. Peter's, where, during two centuries and a half, his successors were laid; after which time there was room for no more graves there. The only inscriptions to these Heads of the Church were a few Latin couplets on plain slabs, most of which were copied by the pilgrims of early centuries, and have been made into collections, such as the Codex of Lauresheim.

The Liber Pontificalis relates that Pope Gregory the Great died in March, 604 A. D., and was buried "in the basilica of the blessed Peter, in front of the secretarium, in one of the intercolumniations of the portico." When his tombstone was found a few years since, but eighteen letters remained of

the hundreds with which it was originally inscribed; the others had been worn away by the feet of pilgrims.

But the remains of this great man were not to rest where they were first interred; after two centuries they were taken into the church and buried in an oratory near the new sacristy, where the tomb was panelled in silver and the wall richly decorated by mosaics. Again, about 1460, Pope Pius II. removed these relics to the new chapel of S. Andrew the Apostle, which he had just built. We are told that his original coffin was an ancient bath of porphyry, which was protected by an iron grating. In 1605, for the third time, his tomb was opened and his remains enclosed in a cypress-wood case, which was followed by a procession of the College of Cardinals and eminent Romans to the Capella Clementina, built by Clement VIII., where it has rested until now. Leo II. was the first pope to follow Gregory the Great to a tomb within the basilica, and this not by his own desire. Sergius I., 687–701 A. D., removed his coffin to a chapel in the south transept, and raised a costly monument above it, which was, however, destroyed in 1607, more than nine centuries later. One can readily imagine that one pope having been buried within S. Peter's proper, it was necessary to assign a burial-place for others. The second aisle on the left, called the aisle of the pontiffs, was selected for this purpose, and on the occasion of the coronation of a new pope, he crossed this aisle on his way to the high altar, that the sight of the numerous burial inscriptions of other popes should remind him that "The glory of the world vanisheth like the flame of a handful of straw;" and such a bunch of straw was actually burned, in illustration of the maxim, while the dean of the Church said, "My father, *sic transit gloria mundi!*" — thus the glory of the world passeth away.

Benedict VII., 974–983 A. D., was buried in Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, where Sylvester II., 999–1003, died. A

legend frequently related concerning this latter pope would have afforded absorbing occupation to a Psychical Research Society.

He was said to be learned in necromancy and to have possessed a demon-like oracle in the form of a brazen head, which answered his questions and told him that he would retain his power until he said mass in Jerusalem.

Sylvester, not applying this to the Church, went there to celebrate mass on Quadragesima Sunday, 1003, and before the service was completed he expired in awful agony. He was buried in S. John Lateran, and the legend adds an assurance that his sins were freely pardoned by God. But a strange influence was believed to surround his grave, and whenever one of his successors was about to die, the bones of Sylvester stirred in his coffin and the covering of the vault was moistened with drops of water. The epitaph, which may still be read in the Lateran, gives a serious account of these miracles. The story probably had its origin in an erroneous reading of the epitaph, which is, in fact, so carelessly written that the error might be pardoned in the simple-minded people who read it. But that it should have passed into an official statement is somewhat surprising. John the Deacon soberly wrote it down in his description of the Lateran.

In 1648, when a new wing was being added to the Church, the sarcophagus of Pope Sylvester II. was found, twelve feet below the ground, and opened. At first sight the body seemed perfect; the dress in good condition, the tiara on his head, etc. But as soon as it was touched it fell into dust, emitting a pleasant odour from the spices used in embalming. Some later papal tombs will be described when speaking of the artists whose work they were.

Before closing this subject of Christian burial-places, I shall return to the Catacombs, especially to those of the Flavians, usually called those of Domitilla. These cata-

combs were within the territory of a property known as the Villa Amaranthiana in earlier days, from which it has been

DOMITILLA.

contracted into its modern name of Torre Marancia. The discovery and excavation of the villa, in 1817–22, were most

interesting, but do not concern us here. This estate belonged to Flavia Domitilla, a relative of the Emperors Domitian and Titus, and to Minutia Procula, a patrician lady. Domitilla's ownership is proved by documents in which she grants a small plot of ground to one Julianus, on which to build a sepulchre, and a second for a similar purpose, these referring to burial plots above ground. But she gave a more important right to those whom she permitted to excavate catacombs for the use of Christians. These were to consist of one portion for the burial of any members of the imperial Flavian family *who should become Christians*, and a second for general use. There was no concealment about the cemetery, the entrance being in a conspicuous place, with perfect reliance on the law which made tombs inviolable.

On each side of the entrance, as may still be seen, are apartments to be used for the customary anniversary gatherings. Those on one side are decorated in true Pompeian style, with birds and flowers on a red ground. The opposite apartment has seats or benches on three sides, and was the banqueting room. Since the pagans were cremated during the first century of our era, and about fifty years later, these catacombs must have belonged to Christians, all the arrangements being made for the interment of the body.

The particular Domitilla for whom this cemetery was named was a niece of Vespasian, and whether or not she was condemned to death for having conformed to "the customs and persuasion of the Jews," has not been clearly established. Indeed, there is so much doubt as to the exact relationship between the different members of this imperial house who became Christians, that it is better not to enter into the question here. But there are records of the banishment of two Christian women, on account of their faith, each bearing the name of Flavia Domitilla, — one to the island of Pandataria, and the other to that of Pontia, which island

became a place of pilgrimage in the fourth century, and is spoken of by Saint Jerome.

In the Acts of the Martyrs it is related that Flavia Domitilla, niece of Flavius Clemens, was buried at Terracina, with her attendants, Theodora and Euphrosyne, and that her servants, Nereus and Achilleus, also martyrs to the faith, were buried in the crypts of the Villa Amaranthiana, or the cemetery of "Domitilla, Nereus, and Achilleus, near Santa Petronilla." There is no doubt that this Flavian cemetery was discovered in 1873; it resembles a basilica rather than a tomb. The pavement is on a level with the graves of the three last-named martyrs, so that these could be enclosed in the altar without being disturbed. The basilica is divided into aisles by the usual method, and some of the columns lying on the ground have the appearance of having been toppled over by an earthquake. A broken inscription, which enables the words SEPULCRUM FLAVIORUM to be identified as its original text, has been found there, as well as certain dates, like those of 390 and 395 A. D.; the first of which is on a grave belonging to a gallery which is now blocked by the foundations of the left aisle; while Monday, May 12, 395 A. D., is on a burial-case found near the altar. The canopy above the altar was supported by pillars, and on a fragment of one of these there is a bas-relief representing the execution of a martyr, and the name, which is of great value, ACILLEVS, is engraved on it. Its whole style, lettering and sculpture, is that of the later years of the fourth century.

The sarcophagus of Saint Petronilla was removed to the Vatican eleven centuries ago, and, naturally, no inscription to her memory was found, although her name makes a part of that by which the catacomb is known. But a later examination of the cemetery, in 1875, revealed a tomb behind the apse, prepared for two graves. That in the altar tomb, or place of honour, was empty; the other, of more recent date,

was still occupied. On the front of the arcosolium is a fresco representing Saints Petronilla and Veneranda; the inscription saying that the latter was buried, January 7, in a sarcophagus below the picture.

In 1881, a very unusual burial-chamber was discovered in this catacomb. In fact, its decoration makes it unique as a tomb; there is nothing corresponding to it in underground Rome. Frail columns support friezes with fantastic designs, and enclose landscapes which would be suitable to an elegant apartment in a fine house.

Above the arcosolium is engraved a name which belonged only to servants and freedmen, and would never have been used by either Christians or pagans of rank, — Ampliatus, — here put in the possessive case, AMPLIATI.

The manner of engraving is excellent, and the letters beautiful, and, in fact, the appearance of the entire chamber shows solicitude in its original construction and in the later care of it, as various restorations have been made.

It would seem a foregone conclusion that this man must have been of importance among the early Christians; and that his tomb was frequently visited, perhaps as a pilgrimage, is suggested by the staircase which was cut through the rock, providing a direct entrance to the tomb from the Via Ardeatina.

It would be impossible not to recall the words of Saint Paul: "Salute Ampliatus, my beloved in the Lord."

Antiquarians would not doubt that this burial-chamber was built and ornamented during the first century after Christ, and the inscription is of a later period — probably early in the second century.

It has been suggested that the original inscription may have been painted on the plaster, and replaced by this more elegant one, on marble, at a later period.

A second inscription above the arcosolium is so inserted in the wall that a painted peacock is seen at either end.

It reads, "Aurelius Ampliatus and his son Gordianus have placed this memorial to Aurelia Bonifatia, wife and mother incomparable, and truly chaste, who lived twenty-five years, two months, four days, and two hours." The name of

A PEACOCK.

Ampliatus was of the first century and occurs in inscriptions in other portions of this very catacomb; but that of Bonifatia was not in use before the middle of the second century and cannot be of special importance in comparison with the other; the question as to the connection of this Ampliatus with Saint Paul imparts to this *cubiculum* an uncommon interest and cannot be answered as yet.

In the light of all that has been learned concerning history, art, and science, from the recent discoveries in Rome, one has reason to hope that further search may solve many problems, and elucidate much that now rests only on doubtful, even though it be intelligent, speculation.

A catacomb beneath the church of S. Sebastiano, on the

Via Appia, has always been of unusual interest on account of the belief that here the bodies of Saints Peter and Paul were concealed during times of persecution.

That these bodies were thus removed is a matter of history, resting on one account of it by Pope Damasus, and on a second by Pope Gregory, in a letter to the Empress Constantia. But whether it was in this particular catacomb that the Apostles were concealed, is not, so far as I can find, an established fact. However, this cemetery no doubt existed in Apostolic times, and the antiquity of the above tradition adds to its sanctity.

A discovery made here within the last decade revealed a portion of a bust in marble, representing Christ, which is believed with reason to be a work of the fourth century, when the earliest attempts were made to represent the Saviour in accordance with the traditions concerning His appearance, and, in short, to attempt a portrait, rather than to repeat the conventional representations of the earliest centuries. This bust represents the hair parted in the middle and falling on the shoulders, and a beard, while the eyes are large and impressive.

There can be no question that there were traditions concerning the personal appearance of Christ, which were in a sense authoritative for some generations, and it would be almost impossible to doubt that these traditions were given form by painter or sculptor in the years following His death, or even during His life. Eusebius gives an account of a statue of Christ, which the woman cured by Him of an issue of blood had erected in front of her house. It is known as the group of Paneas or Bâniâs. Eusebius also says that it existed in his day, and was greatly venerated in Palestine and the East.

The story of the fate of this group runs in this wise, in the writings of several authors. Julian substituted his own statue for that of Christ, and the imperial figure was soon

destroyed by lightning, which so exasperated the pagans that they broke the group of Christ and the Woman in pieces. Several authors, among whom are Cassiodorius and Malala, assert that the head of Christ was not broken.

There is a question that cannot be answered, but will suggest itself when we think of this story, and remember how widely its fame had spread, and how much Eusebius contributed to making it better known; which is, whether or not the very change which we know occurred in the representations of Christ may have been caused by the respect for this statue of Bâniâs? and whether its presentation of Him has been followed?

Many who visit the Catacombs without having studied their history are both surprised and disturbed at finding that so many pagans were interred in them, and at learning how frequently the objects found there were better suited to the worship of the many deities of the ancients, than to the One God of the Christians.

Moreover, the decorations in the Christian burial-places were frequently a curious mingling of motives belonging to the two cults. But, on reflection, could one look for these things to be different? A reason has been already given for the burial of pagans in these cemeteries, founded on the mixed marriages which we know took place, and which satisfied the early Christians as to the desirability of the custom.

In regard to the use of pagan decorations, there were many of them that were so nearly what was desired by the Christians that they were apparently accepted for that reason; for example, the figure of Orpheus playing on the lyre with his flock about him made an excellent representation of the Christian idea of Christ as the Good Shepherd, and four such pictures have been found in the Catacombs. The images of the Four Seasons have frequently been seen on Christian burial-cases, and exquisite cameos and intaglios have been discovered in Christian tombs, which — like the splendid

cameo now in the Vatican, representing a Bacchanalian — are pagan representations of pagan subjects.

In some of the older Catacombs the decorations would be equally suitable to a pagan Columbarium; they represent the seasons, each symbolised by the products of its time, while the genius of each one is more like a pagan than a Christian figure.

One important obstacle in the way of obtaining purely Christian subjects in the decoration of the early Catacombs was the manifest impossibility of finding artists who appreciated or comprehended the difference, or the importance of the difference, between such decorations as they had been accustomed to and those appropriate to the sacred places of the Christians.

Such artists did not exist, and until a class should arise, better prepared for the new demands, the exercise of a reasonable spirit of compromise was the only course to be pursued. It was the artists, perhaps, who were most in need of sympathy, since they were called on to be all things to all men, and to illustrate and symbolise a religion of which they were ignorant; a religion then so humble and despised that they could but have doubted their own oracles had they predicted the importance of its art, as their descendants should know it in a comparatively few generations.

COIN OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

CHAPTER VII.

PALACES AND PATRICIAN HOUSES.

THE earliest houses in Rome of which we have any knowledge are those of the Vestals, the Pontifex Maximus, and the Regia. All of these are said to have been built originally by Numa, and were necessarily little more than huts, as was that of the Vestals of which I have spoken. The house of the Pontifex Maximus, called also the *Domus Publica*, was very near that of the Vestals, of whom he was the guardian. This house was several times burned and rebuilt; and at length, in 12 B. C., when Augustus became Pontifex Maximus, he preferred to live in his own house, and gave the official residence to the Vestals, who pulled it down and extended their own dwelling over a portion of the site of the *Domus Publica*. By this means, some of the colonnades and mosaics were protected; and although the existing remains of the *Domus* are comparatively slight, they are very interesting, showing, as they do, one of the earliest specimens of Roman domestic architecture. These remains are seen to be of different periods, from the materials used in them, and date from the time of the very earliest edifices of Rome to those of some centuries later. The painting on the stucco, the colouring of the

BONA DEA.

columns, and the mosaic floors are fast disappearing since their excavation. The mosaics are especially good; and, judging from the smallness of the bits used in them, and a general delicacy, they are doubtless very old. It was in the *Domus Publica* that Clodius prepared the festival of the *Bona Dea*, and compromised the wife of Cæsar.

The Regia was not the place of residence, but the official house of the Pontifex Maximus, as has been pointed out by Mr. F. M. Nichols, who may be called its discoverer; his arguments concerning its uses are satisfactory to Middleton and to other antiquarians.

An ancient Regia is said by Appian to have stood on the site where the body of Julius Cæsar was burned; on which the Temple Julius was erected later.

In 36 B. C. Cn. Domitius Calvinus rebuilt the Regia in more splendid style than that of the previous structures. It consisted of a council-hall for the priests; a record office; a sacred depository for the spears of Mars; and a hall sacred to the goddess Ops Consiva, where the High-priest and the Vestal Virgins alone could enter.

JUNO LUCINA.

On the Kalends, or first day of the month, the wife of the High-priest offered in the Regia the sacrifice of a sow or ewe-lamb to Juno Lucina, to whom these days were sacred, and other very solemn ceremonies were celebrated in the Regia. This edifice existed long after the *Domus Publica* was taken down by the Vestals; and although the remnants of it still remaining are not of great amount, they are almost unique among Roman ruins, as they are solid blocks of marble nearly two feet deep, in place of the customary brick-work with marble facings.

In the century preceding the Christian era there was, on

the side of the Palatine Hill which faces the Capitoline, a group of houses which are of interest on account of the names of their owners; and that such men lived there, is an indication that it was the "court end" of republican Rome. Lucius Crassus, the orator, had a very expensive house valued at nearly three hundred thousand dollars; and from certain columns of Hymettian marble in the atrium which were considered an especial extravagance, Brutus called him the "Palatine Venus," which nickname so pleased the Romans that it clung to Crassus persistently.

The house of Crassus passed into the hands of M. Æmilius Scaurus, who added greatly to its magnificence, so that it was later sold to Clodius for about seven hundred thousand dollars.

Cicero lived on the lower slope of the hill, and called himself "Cæsar's neighbour;" and near by was the house of Q. Lutatius Catulus, built with the spoils taken from the Cimbri. Catiline and Q. Hortensius also had houses here, as well as other nobles of wealth; and it is not difficult to understand the wrath and indignation, not only in this quarter, but in all Rome, when Caligula appropriated the ground on which these houses stood as the site of his enormous palace and obliterated the homes of men whose public history, and everything connected with their lives, is of interest to the world.

The ancient private houses which are found to be in any sense well preserved are so rare that it has only been ascertained by the study of numerous examples that they were usually of several stories, with the finest rooms above the lower floor. Like the present palaces, they had but few windows, and these grated, on the ground-floor, which was used, no doubt, for store-rooms and business offices.

The house of Sallust, which is frequently referred to in books on Rome, with its beautiful gardens, is almost wiped off the earth by the building of the new streets and unsightly

houses which are the unfortunate necessity of Rome, since it became the capital of Italy, and was thereby doomed to lose many of its individual features. This estate of the historian was, until the fourth century of the Christian era, a favourite residence of the emperors, as after the death of Sallust it became the property of the crown. It is mentioned by many writers, and Nero, Vespasian, Nerva, Severus Alexander Aurelianus, and other emperors lived here.

PALLAS.

In recent years a number of handsome rooms, four stories high, and many fine sculptures and decorations have been discovered. But, alas! in the onward march of improvement, interesting remains are no sooner discovered than they are destroyed, and but little can now be seen by the visitor to the *Horti Sallustiani*. A part of the walls were actually blown up with gunpowder twelve years ago, and the plan called the *Piano regolatore* inaugurated, which is now filling up the valley between the Quirinal and Pincian Hills, and converting this once lovely spot into a quarter so nearly resembling certain parts of Paris as constructed under Napoleon III., that one might fancy that Haussmann's wand had been waved above Rome as well. However, he who loves his ancient

Rome will still be interested in a visit to the circular hall and the staircase, which remain, and which are so suggestive of a distant past, and of the men and women who have come and gone over these ancient pavements.

There are few sentences of three words so big with meaning as is "the Augustan Age," — meaning of import to all the world in all time since Augustus lived and guided Rome to its highest glory. As one now reviews the history of the world from that time to the present, it is impossible not to associate the history of Rome and that of Christianity at every step with a signification which the bare statement of this association by no means conveys. During the life and at the time of the death of Jesus Christ, Rome was the head and centre of the world. Palestine was but a Roman province, and offered too small a field to men like Saint Paul and Saint Peter; and as this was true in relation to the Apostles and founders of the Christian Church, so it was in regard to other men. All roads led to Rome, and whoever felt a force within himself, a compelling power in any direction, desired to prove his worth in that great arena of the world.

The Greeks had already made their home and wielded their influence there, and now the various peoples of the East, — Phrygians, Syrians, Egyptians, and Jews, — gladly escaping the decadence of their native countries, hastened to experience the freedom and fascination of Rome, and in this atmosphere the religion of Christ took root as nowhere else. In the midst of the various forces which were surely bringing about the ruin of the Empire, this religion, through times of persecution and times of peace, steadily waxed stronger and stronger, as paganism declined and was extinguished.

One need not be a Roman Catholic, or even a sympathiser with that Church, in order to perceive the debt which Christendom owes it for the preservation of Christianity

through the Dark Ages, when, so far as human sight can reach, no other preserver existed; and history presents no more astonishing picture than that of the double part of Rome in the first decades of Christianity.

Under the authority of Rome, Christ was crucified at Jerusalem; and yet his earliest followers, even his apostles, found at Rome a very home for Christianity, — a home in which through sufferings and struggles the Church was firmly established; a home in which its roots were so deeply embedded that the darkness and ignorance of centuries could not destroy the giant trunk and the spreading branches which they nourished; a home from which its heralds went forth to the ends of the world bearing their good tidings to all people.

Although Augustus lived but fourteen years after the birth of Christ, and though his latter years were clouded by serious disasters, it was he who had raised Rome to her proud position, and around his life and character there centres an undying interest; and one cannot consider the temples, the porticoes, the theatres, the forums, and the other magnificent edifices with which he adorned Rome, without desiring to know how and where he lived. In his outward life, this man, who must have been as proud as he was ambitious, permitted nothing which indicated pride to appear.

In regard to public affairs he conducted himself as a private citizen in many ways. He voted with his tribe when a new law was before the people; he gave testimony in courts and met the sarcasm or scolding of an advocate as the humblest citizen might do; if he presented a candidate for an office, and asked votes for him, it was always with the proviso, "If he merits them;" and in the Senate he spoke and voted like any other Senator. In his own house the fare was of the plainest description, and few courses; he wore woollen garments spun by the women of his family; he heard with patience the requests of the poor; he visited

his friends without a guard; he occupied one room in a modest house for years, on the door of which was a crown of oak-leaves and some laurel, and when the people desired to honour him with statues he refused their offers and himself erected them to the gods of Peace, Concord, and Public Health.

So much did he dislike an outward show of wealth that he ordered a house erected by Julia to be pulled down because he thought it too splendid for propriety. This rare simplicity of life must have been a matter of personal taste, for even inside his home, where he might freely indulge his wishes, he preferred natural curiosities, such as the caves of Capri afforded, before the gorgeous works of Greek artists or the rich furnishings which the Orient contributed to the luxury of the Romans. Born on the Palatine Hill, he loved it, and always had his house there; from the house of his parents he moved to that of the orator Calvus, and again to the most unpretentious house of Hortensius, on the height of the hill, which was in the immediate neighbourhood of the aristocratic house of Crassus, and others of which I have spoken, and continued the absolute modesty of his style of living until after his return from Egypt, shortly following the battle of Actium.

He bought some of the palaces adjoining the estate of Hortensius and erected a handsome house, still modest, for the master of the world, but more in accord with his dignities than his former home had been; and even this he declared to be not his own, but public property. His private apartment, even then, was far from large or elegant, and he occupied it twenty-eight years, until the house was burned, — in the third year of our era.

As soon as the people knew of this misfortune, immense sums were contributed, throughout the Empire, to erect for him a palace suitable to his condition. Augustus, however, refused to accept more than a single denarius, a coin worth

seventeen cents, from any one person. But even so he received many millions and built a new and magnificent palace.

That portion of the Palace of the Cæsars, as it came to be known, which Augustus built, remained unchanged so long as the Empire existed, although the original palace was enlarged and reconstructed to a great extent by each succeeding ruler.

The buildings of Augustus extended across the centre of the hill, and contained the chief entrance, the temple of Apollo with its surrounding portico, two libraries, Greek and Latin, the shrine of Vesta, and the residence of the Emperor.

The street of Apollo led from the Via Sacra to the chief or state entrance, above which was an arch supporting a splendid group by the sculptor Lysias, representing a four-horse chariot driven by Apollo and Diana, cut from a single block of marble. We may well believe, from the minute descriptions of this palace, which were written when it was at its best, that it was a marvellous sight, and burst upon the vision, when one entered the main court, as a triumph of architecture and sculpture well meriting all the superlative adjectives which these writers lavished upon it.

The fifty-two columns which supported the peristyle were of *giallo antico*, and afforded a fine contrast to the brilliant white marble with which the central area was paved. Some of these beautiful columns have been discovered from time to time, the last as recently as 1877. Between the columns were the statues of the fifty Danaids and that of their father Danaus; in front of the statue of each of these wretched women was that of her husband on horseback, and this army of figures was the work of the best Greek artists of the Augustan age. In the sixteenth century many torsos and other fragments of these statues were recovered; and Flaminius Vacca, a sculptor and antiquarian who served Sixtus

A DANAID.

V., mentions in his diary that he saw eighteen or twenty torsos and other portions of statues that were excavated in the centre of the palace of the Cæsars, as well as a statue

of Hercules, the work of Lysippus, which was sold to Cosimo de' Medici and taken to Florence. The fate of the Danaids is not known, but we may perhaps walk over concrete made from them in some palace or street of a later date.

On the west side of the portico was the library, divided into a Greek and Latin section by a reading-room so large that the entire Senate could be assembled there, and so lofty that one of its decorations, a colossus, was fifty feet high. This library of Apollo, according to an ancient writer, was devoted to books on civil law and the liberal arts. The Romans were discreet in devoting certain libraries to certain classes of books, as well as in a careful scrutiny of the books admitted to any library, — standard works alone being placed on their shelves. A staff of officials, directed by a superintendent of imperial libraries, was responsible for the care and proper conduct of these institutions.

The colossal statue, to which I have referred, was a portrait of Augustus in bronze, modelled by an Italian and cast in Rome, which fact proves the excellence to which Roman bronze-casting had attained.

There is in the Palazzo dei Conservatori a colossal bronze head, which Nardini believes to have made a part of this statue. The walls of the reading-room were ornamented with medallions cast in bronze and others made of gold and silver in repoussé, containing portraits of the most celebrated authors and orators. These medallions were arranged in groups of poets, orators, historians, etc. Here also were rare specimens of ancient and archaic inscriptions, and other antiquities.

This reading-room was probably used for the meeting of societies and academies, when, as is still frequently the case, prosy and uninteresting lectures were delivered to a sleepy audience by learned specialists who had taken almost too deep a draught of the Pierian spring. It may have been

the very scene of such a gathering that Pliny describes as follows: "We approach the hall, as if we were compelled by main force; many of us sit outside the door, and try to overcome the tediousness of it by repeating the gossip of the city. Messengers are sent in stealthily to discover if the lecturer is there, how far he is advanced, and how many sheets he still has to read; and when word is brought that he is coming to the end, we go in slowly, sit awhile on the edges of our chairs, and soon steal away again, without awaiting the learned discussion."

Naturally the Temple of Apollo was the most magnificent of this splendid group of edifices. It was situated in the centre of the square, between the imposing arched entrance and the library. It has already been described in the third chapter of this book.

When Augustus gave the *Domus Publica* to the Vestal Virgins, he built near his Palatine palace a small shrine to Vesta, circular in form, and probably a copy of the ancient one in the Forum Romanum, and, like that, built of the primitive tufa; such a temple, discovered here in the sixteenth century, is believed to have been that built by Augustus, in order that he might live, as the Pontifex Maximus had always done, in close proximity to an altar of Vesta. This gave Ovid his opportunity to say that this portion of the Palatine was protected by three deities: Apollo, Vesta, and Augustus.

I copy the list given by Commendatore Lanciani of the beautiful objects which are known to have decorated the magnificent group of edifices raised by Augustus: —

"At least one hundred and twenty columns of the rarest kinds of marbles and breccias, fifty-two of which were of Numidian marble with capitals of gilt bronze; a group by Lysias, comprising one chariot, four horses, and two drivers, all cut in a single block of marble; the Hercules of Lysippus; the Apollo of Scopas; the Latona of Cephisodotus; the Diana of Timotheos; the bas-relief

of the pediment by Bupalos and Anthermos; the quadriga of the sun in gilt bronze; exquisite ivory carvings; a bronze colossus fifty feet high; hundreds of medallions in gold, silver, and bronze; gold and silver plate; a collection of gems and cameos; and, lastly, candelabra which had been the property of Alexander the Great, and the admiration of the East. Has the world ever seen a collection of greater artistic and material value, exhibited in a single building?"

All these edifices were but an entrance to the house of Augustus, which, in comparison with the palaces built on the Palatine by later emperors, was small and plain. It had a noble position, a large portion of its site now being covered by the Villa Mills. There was a large peristyle two stories high, surrounded by rooms decorated with rich marbles, but not of large size. The floors were in mosaics of simple designs, and, in short, the house was elegant and tasteful, but very inferior to those of the successors of Augustus.

The palace of Caligula was of enormous size, and was built into the hill in a most curious manner, so that its whole height must have been more than one hundred and twenty feet. The rooms on one floor were entered from the Via Nova, others from the foot of the *Clivus Victoriæ*, others again from the top of the *Clivus*, and, finally, the highest from the top of the hill. Many staircases connected these various levels, — some wide and easily climbed, others narrow and steep; some of marble, and others of tiles of earthenware, some even being of travertine.

CALIGULA.

It is impossible to imagine what all the apartments were used for; but on the *Nova Via* and the *Clivus Victoriæ* there

were probably small shops, very much like those in the bazaars of the East. The entire front could be thrown open; such shops were not uncommon in different countries of Europe, and existed in all parts of Italy.

Caligula united the Palatine and the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline by a bridge, and is said to have thrown money from the roof of the Basilica Julia into the Forum below, which seems to indicate that this basilica made a part of his bridge.

Portions of the gallery through which the Emperor passed to the bridge, parts of the bridge itself, the floor with simple mosaic, and even a small portion of the balustrade to the bridge still existed, to my knowledge, but a few years since.

Many small dark rooms were probably for the use of soldiers or guards, while the apartments at the summit of the hill were large, and, as Pliny writes, were richly decorated with statues, mosaics, and rich marble wall linings. But the best-preserved portion of the buildings of Caligula is the long subterranean passage in which he met his death, on January 24, 41 A. D. This tragedy, as described by Josephus, is so full of horror as to make one hesitate even now to visit the scene of such a crime.

It is difficult to understand how in the brief space of three years, two months, and eight days, which was the length of his reign, Caligula could have perpetrated so many follies and crimes as the story of his career displays. The absurdity of spending nearly four hundred thousand dollars on a single banquet, and at the end exclaiming, "A man should be frugal, except he be a Cæsar;" the heartless vulgarity of his assumption of the office of an auctioneer, and calling out, "This is a gun which Antonius brought from Egypt; this was a trophy of my father's; this was a trinket of my mother's, etc.;" his public avowal of his hatred of his subjects in his famous exclamation, "Would that the people of Rome had but one neck!" and the many stories of his

hideous cruelty, — throw sufficient light upon his character to show that he could not hope to long escape the fate which overtook him.

The time chosen for his murder was that of the Palatine games; four days Caligula presided in the theatre constantly

PASSAGE IN WHICH CALIGULA WAS KILLED.

surrounded by those who were sworn to kill him, but could not summon the brute courage to strike the blow; on the last day he began to feel the effects of his frightful debauchery and contemplated absence from the games, but was persuaded to appear for the final shows, and when passing

through a corridor which led from the palace to the circus, as he stopped to examine a company of noble Asiatic youths who were to perform before him, his assassins struck him, the first blow coming from behind. Felled to the ground, he drew his limbs together to save his body and repeatedly screamed out, "I live, I live!" while his murderers hacked at him, crying, "Again, again!" until thirty frightful wounds had been inflicted on him.

The bearers of his litter and other attendants endeavoured to beat off the assailants of their cruel master, and it was said that among those who had no part in the affair, but had been attracted to the spot by the murderous cries, more than one Senator was killed by the poles of the litter and the weapons of the German body-guard. The assassins escaped through the narrow passages into the House of Germanicus, the father of Caligula, leaving the body of their victim to the care of the witnesses of their crime.

The corpse was taken secretly to the pleasure-grounds of a neighbouring palace, hastily burned, and, half-consumed, thrust into an obscure tomb. But the sisters of Caligula, when returned from the banishment to which he had condemned them, reduced his remains to ashes and placed them in a decent sepulchre, in order to appease his shade, which continually wandered about its tomb and gave the keepers of the grounds no rest by night.

A portion of the vaulted ceiling of this corridor, so fatal to the Emperor, is still decorated with reliefs, so spirited, and moulded with such skill as to prove them the work of excellent artists. They represent foliage, cupids, birds, etc., and each figure or group is enclosed in a moulded panel with egg and dart ornaments around it. Near the northern entrance are some fragments of sculpture and a fine sarcophagus, the reliefs on which tell the story of Jason's sins and Medea's revenge.

Caligula had apparently added to his imperial palace a

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house known as that of Gelotius, by means of which the Emperor could have free access to the circus, the grooms and horses, and the squadron of charioteers, — known as the "greens," from the colour of their caps and jackets. Caligula passed days and nights carousing with these men, and as an inscription has been discovered which mentions a ticket-collector of the *Domus Gelotiana*, it would seem that at times a large number of guests were gathered there. But since little is absolutely known of this house in ancient days, the speculations concerning it which are most interesting are those founded on the large number of *graffiti*, or inscriptions cut into the plaster of its walls. Thanks to this custom in Rome, many minute details of daily life there have been revealed to us, as is the case in the house of Gelotius, where these inscriptions concern the life of the upper class of court servants.

It appears that after Caligula's murder this house was used as a school for court pages who had already taken a course in an elementary institution.

The inscriptions express the pleasure of the boys at entering this school of higher grade, thus escaping the work and punishments to which they had been subjected; and in some cases caricature was indulged in with considerable skill. One drawing represents a donkey turning a mill, under which is written, "Work, work, little donkey, as I have worked myself, and it will profit thee." Another drawing, which has been removed to the Museo Kircheriano, represents a man crucified with the head of a jackal: a figure, apparently in the act of worship, is saying, "Alexamenos worships his god." This is most likely to be a scene from Gnostic worship, the crucified one being the god Anubis, as such a representation is found on Egyptian gems; but it has frequently been taken as a caricature of the crucifixion of Christ, and, indeed, there is a difference of opinion concerning it among good authorities.

It is surprising that so much scribbling on the walls and various portions of the Roman edifices should have been permitted. The propensity to do this seems to be inherent with most of the human race. Is it that part of our nature which makes the whole world kin, or is it because of the "total depravity," of which each has a share? At all events it survives the wreck of nations and persistently manifests itself with new epochs.

The inscriptions of the present day, which simply record the names and some idiotic opinions of the visitors to places of note, can never be of the value of the Pompeian and Roman *graffiti*, from which an immense amount of actual knowledge has been gained concerning the business dealings, the political parties, and the social life and customs of those ancient peoples, whose cities we of this period so gladly bring to light. That the Romans did not at the time enjoy the defacing of their premises, is proved by a marble inscription which has been found, that had evidently been put up before a certain property, politely begging the public not to deface the walls.

The successor of Caligula, the Emperor Claudius, did not cherish the same fondness for building, for pulling down the old, and erecting the new, so characteristic of the rulers of Rome. Not so, however, with the young Nero, whose extravagance in this direction, and the horrible crimes imputed to him in connection with it — repeated as the story is in our day, with all seriousness, by historians and archæologists — read so like impossible tales that one knows scarcely what to believe. But the theory that the frightful conflagration — so much written and spoken of in connection with Nero — was a well-laid plan of this Emperor's, is accepted and stated without qualification by some reliable authors; stated and discussed by others, with no absolute conclusion offered regarding it, and left quite out of account with still another class whose opinions one would be glad to know.

Duruy, who certainly spares no pains in the study of his subjects, does not favour the theory of Nero's having planned and executed the conflagration.

Against this idea he brings several arguments. He dwells with emphasis on the fact that Tacitus, while he relates the accusation, does not confirm it, and as he was in Rome at the time and heard the rumour of Nero's guilt, he certainly must have had the means of verifying it. This old historian says that the fire occurred on a hot, windy night of July; that it began in the business part of the city among some oil warehouses; and we must admit that it might very easily have been one of the accidents so numerous in Rome, which first and last consumed nearly the whole city.

After all the references to Nero as the destroyer of Rome in both poetry and prose; and the tendency of all that we learned of him in youth to fix him in our imagination as one of the leading criminals of history — much emphasis being given to this wholesale arson — it has a commonplace sound when we hear that he had no such grandly diabolical intention as that of burning the old Rome, and building a new one as his especial monument.

Like Tacitus, Merivale records the accusations and gives no positive opinion as to their truth, while Middleton admits its probability.

The Commendatore Lanciani, however, has no uncertainty in his statement; and as he is an exceedingly scholarly and painstaking student of everything connected with Roman history, as well as a learned archæologist, living in Rome, with all possible records and sources of information at his command, I should not do justice to this subject did I not give his opinion. He writes: —

"Nero conceived the gigantic plan of renewing and rebuilding from the very foundations, not only the imperial residence, but the whole metropolis; and as the metropolis was crowded at every corner with shrines and altars and small temples which religious

superstition made absolutely inviolable, and as the slightest work of improvement was fiercely opposed by private owners of property, and gave occasion to an endless amount of lawsuits, and appraisals, and fights among the experts, he rid himself of all these difficulties in the simplest and cleverest way. He ordered his favourite architects, Severus and Celer, to draw a new plan of the city, and to draw it according to the best principles of hygiene and comfort; then he caused an enormous quantity of wooden booths and tents to be secretly prepared, and ordered fleets of grain-laden vessels to be kept in readiness to sail from the various harbours of the Mediterranean at a moment's notice.

"Having taken all these precautions, and insured the success of his stratagem as far as human foresight could, Nero set the whole city into a blaze of fire, and did it so neatly that although, of the fourteen regions, or wards, into which Rome had been divided by Augustus, three were annihilated completely and seven for the greater part, yet not a single human life seems to have been lost in the gigantic conflagration.

"The homeless crowds found a ready and comfortable shelter under the booths and tents, raised by thousands in public parks and squares; at the same time a large number of vessels laden with grain . . . appeared at the mouth of the Tiber, and relieved the Emperor from any anxiety as far as famine was concerned. These vessels, as soon as they had discharged their cargoes, were filled up again with the débris of the conflagration, which was thrown into the marshes surrounding the delta of the Tiber."

The plans for the new city proved that Nero had made no error in the selection of his architects. Streets and avenues were traced over the smoking districts and as well planned as the hills would permit them to be, while large squares were laid out, where before hovels had been huddled together in the most unsanitary condition. A certain line of frontage was to be observed by builders, the height of the houses was laid down, and porticoes were to be built continuously in front of the houses, to provide agreeable walks for the people in all weathers; but each house was to be completely isolated, while no wooden ceilings were allowed on the ground-floor.

RUINS OF THE PALATINE OVER THE CIRCUS MAXIMUS.

For himself, Nero took an immense tract to be spared from the heart of a too thickly populated city; it measured nearly a mile square, and there he began the erection of his ever-famous Golden House. This expression includes not only the edifice portion, but gardens and parks which were surrounded by triple colonnades and stocked with various animals.

Gold, precious stones, ivory, and other exquisite and rare materials were lavished on the apartments, some of which were entirely lined with plates of gold, in which were set pearls and gems; while the halls were supported by thousands of columns with Corinthian capitals of gilt bronze. From the ivory ceiling of the supper rooms, through openings cleverly contrived, perfumes and blossoms were showered, while the grand banqueting-hall had a domed ceiling cut in ivory to imitate the constellations, which was constantly revolving to simulate the motion of the planets.

Three different kinds of water — cold; warm, from a mineral spring twelve miles away, and sea water from Ostia, sixteen miles distant — supplied the baths of the palace, and every luxury that could be devised was put under tribute for the benefit of this magnificent edifice.

The works of art collected from Greece, Asia Minor, and Asia, and brought together here, were numberless, while a statue of Nero in bronze, one hundred and nineteen feet high, decorated with gilding, and artistically a failure, in Pliny's judgment, stood in one of the courts, as well as another colossal statue of Mars. A portrait of Nero, painted on canvas, also of colossal size, was within the Golden House and was destroyed by lightning.

There were in this palace so many pictures by Fabullus that Pliny termed it "the prison of his art."

There were also farms and vineyards, botanical and zoölogical gardens, waterfalls, and lakes and rivers shaded by cool groves, with harbours and docks for the imperial

galleys Fairy-like as all this sounds, the story is repeated by Tacitus, Suetonius, and Martial; and Suetonius adds that on the day when the Emperor established himself within this palace, he exclaimed, "At last I am lodged like a man;" an opinion with which one could not readily agree when he remembered that the splendid artistic treasures about him had been largely stolen; that even the sacred temples of Rome had been rifled of their choicest offerings, and the money to gratify the selfishness of this monster obtained by most scandalous and rascally methods.

Nero rebuilt a Temple of Fortune which was within the territory of the Golden House, and Pliny tells the marvellous story that it was constructed of phengites, a brilliant and translucent stone, and that the only light came through this material into the temple. It was probably lighted by windows of crystal, or some other thin, translucent substance, but not through anything sufficiently strong to make the walls. One can visit some remains of Nero's Golden House, but must not go with any hope of being reminded of its ancient splendour, though it is still full of interest.

Nero's successor, Galba, had a reign too short to permit him to acquire the usual fame of a Roman emperor as a builder, and in any case his parsimony would have prevented his attempting works of great importance. But Otho, when he came to the purple, on the very day of his election, turned his attention to the completion of the Golden House and signed an order for a sum equal to two million dollars, to be devoted to that purpose. He, however, was murdered in a few months, and his successor meeting the same fate, Vespasian came to the throne; and, determined to put an end to the mad waste of money in the imperial court, he destroyed a great part of Nero's magnificent palace, restoring much of the land which Nero had stolen from the people, and sparing only such portions of his edifices as were strictly confined to the Palatine Hill.

It was difficult to supply all the needs with which he was burdened, for it was necessary to restore the Capitol, which had been sacked during the civil war; to erect the Temple of Peace, in accord with the policy to which he had pledged himself; to restore the shrine of Claudius, which had been swept away; and even with all this burden he could not neglect the amusement of the people.

To this end he built the Colosseum on the site of Nero's artificial lake, and later raised the Baths of Titus over the private palace of the mad Emperor. The colossus of the entrance to the Golden House was not overthrown, but the head of Nero was stricken off and that of Titus put in its place, and we are not absolutely sure that it was not removed at about this period.

The destruction of the banqueting-rooms in the palace of Nero may have been the cause of the erection of a new edifice, known as the Flavian Palace, which was even more splendid than the preceding palaces had been, and consisted entirely of state apartments to be used on important public occasions. It joined the earlier palaces, however, and these the emperors continued to make their private residences.

In the construction of the Flavian Palace a deep gorge between the northern and southern portions of the Palatine Hill was filled up, and in it was buried a small but richly ornamented house, which has been partly excavated and is now visible. Some of its decorations are well preserved, and one of its floors, partially perfect still, is unusually brilliant in its Oriental marbles.

Titus left the Flavian Palace to be completed by Domitian, and the description of it given by the poet Statius, on the occasion of a banquet, suggests that even the magnificence of Nero had been surpassed.

The enumeration of the features mentioned in this word picture would but be a repetition of rare marbles and splendid objects, such as I have already spoken of. Some

of its beautiful wall decorations are still in place, and the pavement of the recess in which the Emperor sat at banquets is one of the most beautiful remnants of this species of work existing — indeed, Middleton calls it "the most beautiful ancient example that yet exists in Rome." An apartment opening into the banqueting-hall, called the Nymphæum, is also well preserved; it is lined with marbles, having niches for vases or statues, while a large oval fountain occupies the centre of the room. This contained statues of nymphs and water deities, and probably aquatic plants, and the splash of the water and perfume of flowers must have added to the enjoyment of the guests at the banquets. The throne-room of this palace was the most gorgeous apartment it contained, and it is apparent, from the descriptions of the various palaces of the Palatine, that this Flavian structure must have been the noblest of them all.

A large part of the Palatine was later owned by the Farnese family; in 1720–26, the Duke of Parma, a Farnese, excavated portions of this palace and brought to light many fragments of sculptures and some whole statues of basalt and porphyry; for it was at the period of the erection of the Flavian Palace that these most inartistic and objectionable materials came into fashion for statues, and many of colossal size decorated its throne-room. Far more satisfactory were the Corinthian columns of *paronazetto* and *giallo* which the Duke of Parma obtained, and the enormous block of Pentelic marble now used as the table of the high altar in the Pantheon.

The list of the buildings erected by the Emperor Hadrian makes a surprising showing of his energy and devotion to the public good, since he was an old man before he settled in his capital and gave his attention to its improvement and decoration.

Among all his other edifices he added to the palaces of the Palatine one which is now mostly destroyed, a part

of its lofty structures having fallen, and other portions having been buried by Septimius Severus when he erected his own palace.

Still, there are portions of the half-buried rooms of Hadrian's palace, in which wooden steps have been so arranged that the enthusiastic antiquarian can find some small satisfaction in visiting it, and considerable remains of lofty rooms on the top of the hill are still in existence.

The palace of Severus was the last of the renowned structures on the Palatine, and very little of this still remains above the vast series of its substructures, which contain a number of kitchens and other rooms for domestic uses which are worthy of attention, but are rather dark; here is an excellent example of the cisterns and other arrangements for the water supply of Roman palaces and houses of the best description.

But the most famous and remarkable part of the buildings of Severus was the Septizonium, an enormous portico with seven stories of columns, which the Emperor placed at the corner of the hill which faced the Appian Way and the road to Ostia; in order, as his biographer relates, that his African countrymen, when coming into Rome, might at once behold this witness to his glory.

He is said to have intended to make this portico the vestibule to the imperial palace, but the Augurs forbade changing the entrance from its former position.

After the time of Severus, the constructions upon the Palatine were of little importance, and consisted of slight changes and restorations rather than of new or important additions, although the Baths of Helagabalus are sometimes mentioned in this connection; some portions of them still being well preserved.

The house on the Palatine, called sometimes by the name of Livia, and again by that of Germanicus, is a complete and well-preserved Augustan house. The apartments are

on two levels, and the paintings which decorate the principal rooms, which open on to the Atrium, are older than the paintings at Pompeii, and quite equal to the best of them. The designs in the pictures are much varied, and embrace a large number of subjects, from illustrations of Greek mythology to domestic scenes, landscapes, winged female figures, and delicate hanging foliage; in the dining-room the decorations are very inferior, and represent birds, animals, trees, and fruit.

The manner in which this house is connected with the scene of the murder of Caligula — by a side passage which leads into the fatal corridor — makes it probable that this "House of Livia" was the residence of Germanicus, through which the murderers of his son escaped. At all events this house is earlier than the time of Germanicus, and probably belongs to that of Augustus, and these suppositions correspond to the description of the murder and the relative position of the structures of that time as given by Josephus. This very interesting house is in most respects the best example of the house of a person of wealth, before the Christian era, which still exists in Rome.

Of the fine Villa of Mæcenas very little remains, one room only being preserved, and this has been decided to have been a greenhouse; it received its designation, the Auditorium of Mæcenas, from what were thought to be rows of seats, but which were undoubtedly shelves for flower-pots. This apartment has six recesses on each side, so decorated with garden scenes, flowers, and fountains, as to simulate windows opening on gardens. There were, in fact, no windows; light and ventilation being obtained by openings in the barrel vault. Such paintings, or those similar, were described by Pliny, and at one time were much in vogue.

The paintings of house walls and the mosaic pavements are an interesting study in Roman remains, and for those

who do not care to visit the portions of them which remain in the various ruins where they originally belonged, there are most interesting specimens in the Lateran Museum, in that of the Baths of Diocletian, and in the Vatican. The mosaics were not always in the pavements, as, in the second and third centuries of our era, the walls of houses were filled with elaborate mosaic pictures, far too delicately treated to be used in floors, and not infrequently the vaulted ceilings were brilliant with mosaics made of coloured paste and glass.

Although so many excavations have been made, and so much of interest disclosed, there are still many unexplored spots in Rome that may have other wonders still unrevealed, and from time to time, as new streets are laid out and new buildings erected, we may hope that new treasures, which have been carefully guarded in the bosom of the earth for centuries, will be disclosed, to compensate in some measure for the incongruity and ugliness of the "modern improvements" in the home of the Cæsars. But it is not possible that any other quarter of the city can exceed in interest "the Palatine, proud Rome's imperial seat!" to which the nations of the world have flocked, from the time when Claudian thus apostrophised it, to the day and hour in which we write.

ROME SEATED UPON THE SEVEN HILLS.

A. Existing Arches of the Forum Julium.

B. Lofty existing piece of the Wall of the Forum of Augustus.

E., F. Greek and Latin Libraries, Biblioth

C. Existing Columns of the Forum Nervae.

D. Hemi-cycle of shops on the boundary of Trajan's Forum.

lpia, at the sides of Trajan's Column.

NEW YORK

CHAPTER VIII.

FORUMS, PUBLIC SQUARES, GARDENS, PORTICOES, AND BATHS.

NO city of the world has more generously provided "breathing spaces" for its inhabitants than has Rome, even from its most ancient days; in truth, with passing centuries these blessings have been lessened rather than enlarged, while the ancient baths yielded such comforts and advantages for body and mind as may well excite the envy of the Romans of the present day. These public resorts were of various kinds: at the beginning of the fourth century of the Christian era there existed eighteen public squares, or *fora*, thirty parks and gardens, and eight commons, or *campi* principally used for running and gymnastic exercise; and besides these were the porticoes built for the people, in which they were shielded from rain and heat; the enclosures of the temples with their colonnades; the cemeteries, which were much frequented, shaded as they were by the dark sentinel-like cypresses and pale weeping-willows; and the great baths, which at the period mentioned above, numbered eleven, and were supplemented by nine hundred and twenty-six smaller ones, ranging from those of Diocletian, in which thirty-six hundred could be accommodated at the same moment, down to those which fifty bathers would fill. A calculation which has been made gives sixty-two thousand eight hundred as the number that could bathe at any hour in public baths of every possible description; while those who for any reason did not frequent such establishments had the bathing arrangements of their own houses,

which were by no means insufficient, and were gratuitously supplemented by the Tiber, the Anio, the Lake of Agrippa, etc. Such was the full provision of public resorts for the Romans of the fourth century.

The fora, which were devoted to so many purposes and held so important a place in Roman life, were originally open spaces fronting any edifice where justice was administered, or merchandise exposed for sale. Later they were distinctly divided into two classes, those which were used entirely for business purposes, and might be described as open markets; and those where courts and popular assemblies were held.

Certain men of business, however, such as brokers and money-lenders, were not excluded from the *fora judicialia*, as the superior kind were called, and had their offices in the porticoes and buildings which bordered the fora. Some of these squares came to be surrounded by magnificent temples, basilicas, porticoes, and other edifices.

The very ancient Forum Boarium, or the cattle-market, had in its centre the celebrated bronze bull, made by the sculptor Myron, one of the famous statues of old Rome, upon which a great number of epigrams were written.

It has always been a question whether the forum was named from its principal trade or from this statue; and again, whether the statue was placed here as a symbol of the trade or because from this spot the plough of Romulus, drawn by a bull and a cow, first broke the soil when tracing the pomerium.

This forum has already been spoken of as the place where the gladiatorial games were held in their beginning, the very first having occurred here 264 B. C., as a part of the celebration of the funeral of one of the early Brutii. In this forum also occurred those hideous burials of living men and women, mentioned in the first chapter.

It still contains objects of interest, among which is the

ASPECT OF THE ROMAN FORUM IN 1653.

Temple of Fortuna, a very ancient edifice and one of the best-preserved among those remaining. It is now the church of S. Maria Egiziaca, and is regarded as the purest specimen of Doric architecture in Rome. It is said to have been founded by Servius Tullius, 578–534 B. C., and if it is indeed of so venerable an age as it is supposed to be, one may pardon the use of stucco in the ornamental work, since marble was then a rare material.

As Servius also constructed a second temple in this forum, that of *Mater Matuta*, there is some doubt as to which of the two the remaining one may be.

At all events, it must at least date from the first century B. C., as is indicated by the purity of its architecture, the tufa used in its construction, and the style of its ornament.

A circular temple still existing is called that of Hercules, and probably dates from the time of Augustus: it closely resembles the Temple of Vesta, and had twenty columns originally, but one of which is missing.

To me, however, the most interesting relics of this forum are those now built into the church of S. Maria in Cosmedin, which are believed to belong to the Temple of Ceres, built 494 B. C., which Dionysius, Vitruvius, Pliny, and Tacitus all describe as in this situation, "by the Circus Maximus close outside the *Carceres*, in the Forum Boarium."

Pliny speaks of this temple as the first in Rome that was adorned by Greek artists; he praises the mural paintings and mentions a most interesting easel picture, representing Bacchus, the work of Aristides. Lucius Mummius possessed himself of it with many other Greek spoils, and not suspecting its value put it up at auction: but when a bid of about twenty-two thousand dollars was made for it by King Attalus of Pergamus, Mummius would not permit the king to have it, and sent it to Rome.

Ten columns of this temple are built into the walls of S. Maria in Cosmedin; their age can only be judged from their

style, as the temple is known to have been burned 31 B. C., and partly rebuilt by Augustus.

In the portico of this interesting church is a curious circular marble drain slab, five feet in diameter, carved in low relief, representing the bearded face of a river-god, through the open mouth and eyes of which the surface water ran into the sewer beneath. It is known as "*La bocca della Verità*," the mouth of truth, — which name arose from a superstition that should any one swear falsely while holding his hand in the open mouth it would close.

The principal Forum of Rome — the Great, or Forum Romanum Magnum, — was built in the valley between the Palatine and Capitoline Hills after the great *Cloaca* — or sewer — had redeemed it from the marshy morass it had been before it was needed for the use and ornament of the new city. It is said that in the dry season the Sabines of the Capitol and the Latins of the *Roma Quadrata* — the square city — often indulged in battles here; and a portion of it was a neutral spot where councils of the two tribes were held, both before and after their union under one king.

The construction of the great drain was the first step towards the magnificent result in the completed Forum of later centuries, and is attributed to the time of Tarquinius Priscus, about six centuries before our era. During the same reign, the Forum is said to have first taken a form and a meaning, by reason of the shops and houses with which it was surrounded; those on the southwest were called the "old shops," while those on the opposite side, being occupied by bankers and silversmiths, were known as the shops of those occupations. These last were burned, and, when rebuilt, were called the "new shops;" consequently the long sides of the Forum were usually referred to by ancient writers as the old and new, although Cicero called them the sunny and shady sides. The Temples of

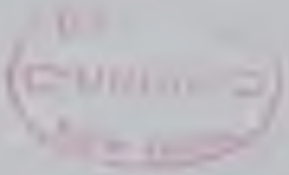
Vesta and of Janus are the other prehistoric buildings in the Forum of which the fame has survived.

The great Forum advanced slowly, and was for a long time chiefly used for political meetings, funeral pageants, public exhibitions, and commercial transactions. Gladiatorial fights were held here as early as 216 B. C., and Pliny tells of a funeral being celebrated by thirty gladiatorial struggles which lasted three days. During such exhibitions seats were temporarily arranged with awnings above them, and the projecting galleries or balconies are said to have originated in the Forum for the convenience of the spectators at shows. A central portion of the Forum was necessarily kept clear for various purposes, but it was narrowed by statues and monuments to such an extent that it was unavoidably cleared of these from time to time by order of the Senate. Under the Empire the Forum was but three hundred and seventy-five feet long; the end next the Capitoline being one hundred and fifty feet in width, while the other end was forty feet less.

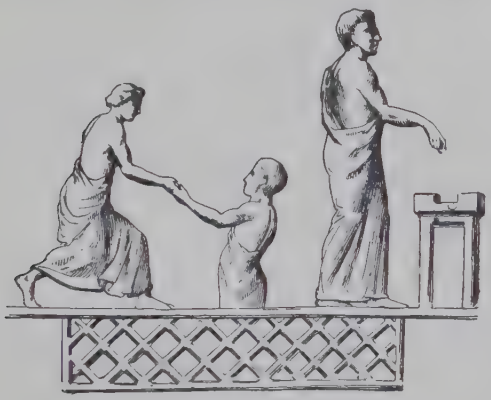
Many persons who are familiar with the history of the important events of the Forum Romanum are vastly disappointed on seeing its limited area. It was bounded by roads on three sides, and paved with thick slabs of travertine, parts of which are badly jointed and made of stones of uneven size.

Tullius Hostilius enclosed a space on the east side of the Forum, in which the Senators held their meetings, which was called the *Curia*; while a second fenced enclosure in front of this was used for the polling for elections, and was known as the *Comitium*. The first may be said to have been for the use of the patricians, the last for that of the plebeians.

From the Curia a flight of steps led to the Comitium, where the *Rostra* stood, and near at hand a platform on which foreign ambassadors listened to the public speeches from both Rostra and Comitium.



The Curia was repeatedly rebuilt for one cause and another, and each time bore the name of the builder; the final Curia, built by Diocletian, is believed by competent archæologists to now make a portion of the church of S.



VOTING UPON THE PONS SUFFRAGIORUM.

Adriano, and although the present floor is much higher than the level of the Forum, the original level existed in the sixteenth century when the fine bronze doors of the Curia — now at the Lateran — were still in their place.

On the Comitium criminal cases were heard; punishment by scourging, and even executions, took place there, where foreign envoys were also received, and other business transacted. It presented a very different scene upon occasions when it was fitted up for banquets and spectacles of various kinds; when seats, platforms, etc., were placed there temporarily.

The Rostra, the scene of some of the most serious political struggles in Rome, were not thus named until after the capture of the Latin fleet at Antium, 338 B. C., when the bronze

beaks — *rostra* — of the conquered vessels were fastened to what had before been but a simple platform. In the early days the Rostra and Comitium were the portion of the Forum ornamented with statues, and on the Comitium stood the sacred fig-tree beneath which Romulus and Remus were found. This tree was miraculously transported by the Augur Attus Navius. His statue was erected near it, and a bronze group of the wolf suckling the twins was placed beneath the tree in 296 B. C. This was probably that now in the Capitoline Museum; it being one of the finest existing samples of early Roman or Etruscan bronze. The treatment of the hair on the neck of the wolf, and the unyielding hardness of the modelling mark it as an archaic work.

On the Rostra were placed the Twelve Tables of the Law, published in 449 B. C., and cut on bronze tablets; statues of Roman ambassadors who had been killed when in foreign service were also here, and these especial statues, as Pliny tells us, were but three feet in height, the usual size for honorary statues.

The Rostra were not changed until 44 B. C., when Julius Cæsar removed them to the northwest limit of the Forum, opposite the triumphal Arch of Fabius. The remains of this monument were found in 1882, thus revealing portions of what may be the oldest triumphal arch in Rome, — at all events a very ancient one, raised, in 121 B. C., to the honour of Fabius Maximus Allobrogicus, the conqueror of Savoy. The fragments still existing lie near the Temple of Faustina.

One can easily imagine that with the end of the kingly period, and the progress under the Republic, many changes occurred in this Forum. The space had become far too narrow for its uses, and other larger and more magnificent fora were added, from time to time, under the Empire.

At the close of the Republic, the Forum was bordered by dignified edifices. On the north were the Temple of Saturn, the Temple of Concord, the Græcostasis, or place where

foreign ambassadors awaited their admittance to the Curia, and the *Carcer Tullianum*, or Mamertine Prison. The Temple of Saturn was built on the site of the prehistoric altar of that god, and was distinguished by a ritual which was quite its own. Here, wax tapers were first used as offerings to superior persons by the more humble. The Saturnalia was a remarkable festival, when the utmost freedom was permitted to the slaves, and even banquets were made for them, at which they were served by their masters. No public business was transacted during its continuance; the courts were closed, and to begin a war or punish criminals at this time was considered impious and polluting.

The sacrifices in the Temple of Saturn were offered with uncovered heads on the conviction that no ill-omened sight would disturb this happiest of seasons; in fact it was the one Roman temple which the devout could enter without veiling the head. During the Saturnalia public gambling was permitted, and in some parts of the pavement of the Basilica Julia gaming-tables are seen incised on the marble; the toga was thrown off, and the entire population went about in loose gowns with peaked caps, — perhaps the origin of dominoes and masks, — and in private society a mock king was elected and certain customs followed which remind one of Twelfth-Night revelries. It cannot be doubted that the Carnival is the descendant of this festival, in which the *cerei* were probably employed as are the *moccoli* of the last night of the modern *festa*, which is gradually losing its importance.

Under the Republic the month of December was dedicated to Saturn, although but a single day was devoted to religious observances; and at different periods under the Empire the length of the Saturnalia varied from one to seven days.

The Temple of Saturn was also the chief public treasury in Rome and was presided over by quæstors and many subofficials, who are mentioned in existing inscriptions.

The Temple of Concord was of great importance under

the Empire, and especially celebrated for its wonderful collection of works of art, having been magnificently rebuilt. It was originally founded 367 B. C., but the existing remains are from the edifice of Augustus. The sacrifices of the Temple of Concord were of unusual sanctity, and here the Senate frequently convened; two of Cicero's orations on the plot of Catiline were delivered here, and on its portico Cicero and the Senate, with the Roman knights, withstood the followers of Antony after the murder of Cæsar. The steps which led up to the citadel from the Forum, and descended to the Tullianum, or Mamertine prison, were near the Temple of Concord. The lower steps from the upper prison to the Forum were known as the Gemonian stairs, on which the bodies of criminals who had been executed were exposed. Pliny calls them "the stairs of sighs," and relates this pathetic story, which suggests the many touching scenes which must have occurred there.

In the reign of Tiberius, when the bodies of Titius Sabinus and his servants were exposed, one of them was watched by his dog, and the affectionate animal was seen to bring some bread which he had stolen and attempt to force it into the mouth of his dead master; and when the bodies were finally thrown into the Tiber, the dog plunged in and endeavoured to bring his friend's corpse to shore. These men were victims of Sejanus, whose own body was erelong flung down upon the same accursed place. Middleton says: "These stairs, of which some remains may still exist, are buried under the modern road, and will probably be discovered when the excavations are continued in that direction."

There was no entrance to the lower dungeon save by a hole in the stone floor above it, and it was well described as "the infernal prison." As in the case of Simon, who was escorted to his death in the triumph of Titus, each victorious general conducted an important conquered enemy in his train and paused near the prison until word was brought

that one or more captives had been killed. When the Catiline conspirators were executed here, Cicero announced their death to the waiting crowd of the Forum in one word, "*vixerunt*," — they have lived.

On the east side of the Forum, at the period of which we speak, were the Senate-house, or Curia, and the Court-house, called the Basilica Æmilia. These were separated by a wide street, in the middle of which stood the Temple of *Janus Quadrifrons*, so called from its square form.

This small temple gave its name to the portion of the border of the Forum near it, and the shops of the bankers, etc., were there; thus the word "Janus" came to mean the quarter of the usurers. It was a curious little edifice, of which the doors were closed whenever Rome was at peace with all the world, and it therefore bore the name of "the Gate of War." The double-faced, bronze statue of Janus — Janus Bifrons — of this temple, and a second brought to Rome by Augustus, which was the work, according to Pliny, of Scopas or Praxiteles, made this little shrine famous, even in ancient Rome.

JANUS, GOD OF WAR.

The Curia, or Senate-house, was, in spite of its unpretentious appearance, the most important edifice in Rome, as the affairs concerning the greatest good of its people were here discussed, decisions made, and edicts promulgated, which affected the prosperity of all. There are many reasons for believing that the last curia, built by Diocletian, after a fire, is now a portion of the church of S. Adriano, as men-

tioned on page 355. The hall of the Senate was eighty-five by seventy-five feet in size, and was approached by a flight of steps, down which Tarquinius hurled the body of his predecessor and father-in-law, Servius Tullius.

The early Senators were so frugal that a desk for the Speaker, and a few wooden chairs and benches, were a sufficient furnishing; they had no fire long after the poor people had methods for heating their houses; and Cicero, in a letter to his brother, gave an account of one occasion when the Senate, having been summoned to discuss an important matter, found it so cold that they broke up their meeting and were much derided therefor by the populace. In 52 B. C., when the excited mob brought the body of the murdered anarchist Clodius to the Forum, they seized the furniture of the Curia to make his funeral pyre, and with it burned the Curia also, then quite five centuries old. The flames also extended to the ancient Court-house, called the *Basilica Porcia*, and that too was destroyed, as well as the Basilica Æmilia.

On the south side of the Forum were the Temple of Vesta, that of Castor and Pollux, and the Arch of Fabius, all of which have been mentioned; while on the west side were the shops, which, towards the end of the Republic, converted this border of the Forum into a veritable exchange for financial transactions.

The area of the square itself was encumbered by a populace of marble and bronze which must have greatly inconvenienced the living and moving citizens; and even after those that had not been decreed by the Senate were removed, and also the trees which were not absolutely sacred, there was an insufficient space for the needs of the already large and constantly increasing population.

There too was the *Columna rostrata*, raised in 260 B. C., by C. Duillius, as a memorial of his victory over the Carthaginians, which was adorned with the bronze rostra from the

ships he had captured; a portion of its base with the inscription, which was restored by Michael Angelo, is now in the entrance-hall of the Palazzo dei Conservatori; and the *Puteal Scribonianum*, a structure of marble like a well-head, was preserved to denote a spot considered sacred because struck by lightning; besides these, the four-faced porches and other structures greatly lessened the space of the Forum Romanum, which was far too limited had it been clear of obstacles.

Various authors speak of the people who were accustomed to haunt the Forum, almost to exist there, with impatience and contempt. They gathered in knots of such as were drawn together by common interests, and these cronies acquired the habit of going each day to the same part of the Forum until certain spots and corners were named for them; for example, those of the legal profession who had no clients affected nearness to the Rostra; a class who were mere idlers gathered near the sun-dial; jewellers and makers of musical instruments were in the Via Sacra; perfumers were at the end of the street which led to the Circus Maximus; booksellers and copyists were in the Argiletum, where pickpockets were seen in the later hours of the day, dividing the booty of the morning; there were also the drunkards and other indigent men gathered about the *Canalis*, or mouth opening into the Cloaca; and, worse than all, the fishmongers plied their trade in the porticoes of the basilicas and poisoned the air of the edifices themselves; the removal of this nuisance was one of the earliest steps taken to improve the Forum.

A half-century before our era, L. Æmilius Paulus rebuilt the Basilica Æmilia, which was restored so often by other members of his family that it was also known as the Basilica Pauli. He bought land on the east of the Forum for which he paid a sum equal to two million four hundred thousand dollars, and built the basilica in a manner which

Cicero pronounced the most magnificent, — *magnificentissima*. Cicero also tells us that Æmilius Paulus did all this for the purpose of enlarging the Forum. Twenty years were consumed in its construction, and but eighteen years after its dedication it was much injured by fire!

This is so constantly the fate of the edifices of Rome, that we can but wonder what was consumed in such structures as are described by ancient writers, consisting of stone, bricks, cement, marbles, bronze, etc.

Augustus and others restored the Basilica Æmilia, and decorated it with the splendid monolithic columns of Phrygian or *pavonazetto* marble, which, according to a tradition, were carried five centuries later to the basilica of S. Paolo fuori le Mura, and were nearly all burned in 1823.

Julius Cæsar continued the enlargement and improvement of the Forum, and at such cost that Pliny exclaimed, "We wonder at the Egyptian pyramids, when Cæsar, as dictator, spent one hundred million sesterces merely for the ground on which to build his Forum!" This amount equalled four million dollars. The splendid Forum of Cæsar was essentially an enclosure around the Temple of Venus Genetrix, from which goddess Cæsar claimed descent, and to whom he had vowed a temple at the battle of Pharsalia.

Arcesilaos was the sculptor of the statue of Venus; it was considered a splendid masterpiece, and was adorned with a breastplate covered with pearls from Britain.

The temple was also decorated with famous pictures by Greek painters, and contained six collections of engraved gems and cameos. Much has been written by Suetonius and others concerning the favourite horse of Cæsar. It was foaled in the stables of his family. Its fore feet having toes closely resembling those of the human foot, the Augur explained this to be a prophecy that the master of this horse would rule the world. Cæsar devoted himself to the colt, and it became so fond of him that it would not

permit another to feed or care for it, and certainly not to ride it. In front of his temple Cæsar placed an equestrian statue of himself and this horse in gilt bronze, modelled from nature; it was a magnificent work, and its fame was carried over all the known world.

The temple was built with great celerity, and was consecrated 46 B. C., on the occasion of Cæsar's triumph; two years only after he had made his vow, and although the Venus was not finished, the model for it was in the *cella* at the time of its dedication. It is probable that a copy of the Venus of Arcesilaos is in the Vatican. It is a draped figure, but the form is scarcely concealed; the right hand, uplifted, holds a corner of the stola, and in the left is an apple. The riches of the magnificent shrine were increased by the renowned picture of Venus Anadyomene, — rising from the sea, — painted by Apelles, which Augustus dedicated to the Temple of Venus Genetrix. When the lower portion of this picture was injured by age, no living painter could restore it.

Augustus also enlarged the Forum, and produced a more splendid effect than had yet been reached. The temple in the centre was dedicated to Mars the Avenger, because it was built to fulfil a vow, before the battle of Philippi, which avenged the death of his adopted father, Julius. By adding the title of "the Avenger" to the name of the god of war, Augustus desired to have it believed that war would henceforth only occur as a necessity, and as an appeal for justice from Heaven, when Rome had suffered such things as called for vengeance. And because he believed, or wished it to be believed, that Apollo had protected him at Actium, he built upon the Palatine a splendid temple to this god. On the famous ivory gates of this shrine were representations of Apollo — also as an avenger — sending his death-bearing arrows upon the children of Niobe, and executing his vengeance upon the Gauls. The Forum was called by both the

name of the Emperor and that of the god. From the descriptions of this wonderful achievement, it would appear that words cannot give an adequate idea of its richness and beauty. The remains are among the very finest of ancient Rome yet discovered. The especial feature which distinguished this Forum was a gallery of statues of the generals, who by their conquests had increased the power and glory of Rome; these statues began with Æneas and Romulus, and came down to Augustus himself. They were placed in tiers of niches in the wall, which, being nearly a hundred feet high, contained an immense number of statues. The lower part of the wall was lined with marble.

At the dedication of the Temple of Mars Ultor, among other spectacles there was a sea-fight in which thirty ships appeared, and the battle was intended to represent that of Salamis, the costumes of the men representing those of the Athenians and Persians. Augustus spared no expense that could add to the splendour and dignity of the temple, which he desired to be worthy of the important uses to which he devoted it.

Here the Senate was to assemble for its most weighty deliberations. Here, in sight of the almost innumerable statues of the men to whom chiefly they owed the present glory of Rome, they would not grant the honour of a triumph too readily. Here returning conquerors were to deposit the standards and other warlike spoils taken from an enemy, and here dedicate their wreaths and crowns. Here the sons of emperors, with impressive ceremonies, were to assume the manly toga, amid a scene well calculated to excite their ambition and increase their sense of the glory and responsibility of their position as future emperors, which they all hoped to be. Here, too, the governors of provinces, before departing to assume their new duties, were to offer a solemn sacrifice to Mars the Avenger, with all possible ceremony that could add to its dignity and impress the Roman people

and the strangers within their gates with the grandeur and glory of almighty Rome.

This Forum was especially devoted to the business of the law, and contained the tribunal in which Augustus himself sat to hear causes of a weighty nature. Like other temples of the different fora, that of Mars had a treasury; and any approximate estimate of the amount of gold which literally poured in and out of it would amount to a sum quite beyond the conception of the ordinary imagination, for this forum and temple was but a single object among the many upon which he lavished untold amounts of treasure. To the riches of this shrine were constantly added not only gold and silver, but the most magnificent objects and works of art of which Augustus could possess himself by conquest or purchase, while splendid gifts were presented to him by men desirous of the imperial favour.

Perhaps nothing more clearly reveals the pride of Augustus, which he habitually concealed by his assumption of modesty, than that paragraph in the Ancyrean inscription which says: —

"Upon my own land I have built with the spoils of war the Temple of Mars Ultor and the Augustan Forum. The theatre near the Temple of Apollo was built by me upon ground which I bought for the most part from private owners, that it might bear the name of M. Marcellus, my son-in-law.

"Gifts from the spoils made in war have been offered by me in the Capitol, in the temples of the divine Julius, of Vesta, and of Mars Ultor, which gifts have cost me about a hundred million sesterces.

"In my fifth consulship I remitted to the Italian municipia and colonies the present of gold, of the weight of thirty-five thousand pounds, which they offered me on occasion of my triumphs; and after this, whenever I was proclaimed imperator, I refused the same gift, which the municipia and colonies offered me each time with the same liberality."

Middleton gives it as his opinion that the existing remains of the wall of the Augustan Forum are among the most

stately ruins of ancient Rome, and one of the best examples of massive Roman masonry at its best period.

Near the Temple of Mars, spanning the present Via Bonella, is the Arco de' Pontani, under which originally passed an important road to the Forum. All the ruins of this forum are frequently spoken of as the Arco de' Pontani from this fine archway, close by which is seen a considerable remnant of the pavement of the Forum, which was discovered twenty-three feet below the present surface. It was made of the most expensive materials, green and red porphyry, a great variety of coloured and white marbles, all laid in simple geometrical patterns, but producing a marvellous effect from the exquisite variety and tones of the materials. Near the Arco de' Pontani one has an excellent view of the great wall, over one hundred and ten feet high; a considerable portion with the rows of niches is well preserved; the niches had monolithic columns of coloured marble on each side, and these supported an entablature of white marble, while the remainder of the wall surface was covered with slabs of marble of many colours. Remains of these splendid decorations were found in the excavations of 1888. Some portions of the interior of the Augustan Forum were finished with hard white stucco, which was brilliantly painted and divided into panels by columns of *pavonazetto*, the precious Phrygian marble, *giallo antico*, and other richly veined and coloured marbles.

Although the three Corinthian columns, still standing, and so familiar to all who visit Rome, are nearly all that remains of the Temple of Mars Ultor, they are quite sufficient, in their exquisite workmanship, to suggest what the whole must have been. Over these the architrave is still seen, and the marble ceiling of the peristyle is in excellent condition, and displays the richly moulded sunk coffers, each with its central rosette.

One would fancy that no successor of Augustus would

have the courage to build other fora, but Vespasian followed with his *Forum Pacis*, which enclosed the magnificent Temple of Peace. This forum was only separated from that of Augustus by a wide street. The temple has been entirely destroyed; but when Pliny mentions the four buildings in Rome most important and celebrated for combined magnificence and size, he names the Temple of Peace, together with the Circus Maximus, the Basilica Æmilia, and the Forum of Augustus.

Vespasian began this temple immediately after the taking of Jerusalem, and dedicated it in 75 A. D. Josephus, after recounting the triumphal honours paid to Vespasian and Titus, says: —

"After these triumphs were over and the affairs of the Romans were settled on the surest foundations, Vespasian resolved to build a temple to Peace, which was finished in so short a time, and so glorious a manner, as was beyond all human expectation. For, having now by Providence a vast quantity of wealth, besides what he had formerly gained in his other exploits, he had this temple adorned with pictures and statues. For in this temple were collected and deposited all such rarities as men formerly used to wander all over the habitable world to see one of them after another. He also laid up therein those golden vessels and instruments that were taken out of the Jewish temple, as ensigns of his glory. But still he gave order that they should lay up their law, and the purple veils of the holy place, in the royal palace; and keep them there."

It was here that the gold candlestick with seven branches, the silver trumpets, and the golden table were all deposited; the representations of which, on the Arch of Titus, must no doubt have been copied from the originals, and are therefore of great value and interest.

Pliny mentions some of the countless works of art and objects of historical and archæological value which were gathered in the Temple of Peace. One of them was that picture by Protogenes during the painting of which he ate

nothing but steeped beans, in order that a constant sense of hunger might render his artistic perception more keen. How hungry he must have been may be imagined when we remember that the picture occupied seven years of his life!

It represented Ialysus, a Rhodian hero, with his dog. Cicero and Pliny speak of it, and relate that the foam on the dog's mouth was made by a fortunate throw of the sponge with which Protogenes, in great vexation, was rubbing off his unsuccessful attempts. This would not seem to demand an exaggerated keenness of artistic perception! Pliny also relates that it was painted four coats thick, which doubtless included the priming of the canvas, concerning which the Greeks were most careful. However amusing these tales may be, it was doubtless a splendid painting, as these critics were accustomed to seeing the best Greek pictures. There was in this temple a colossal statue of the Nile surrounded by sixteen children, believed to indicate the greatest number of cubits to which the river rises, cut from the hard, iron-coloured basalt of Egypt. The marble group in the Vatican which was found in 1516 is believed to be a contemporary copy of the original. Pliny also relates that a large portion of the artistic decorations of Nero's Golden House had previously been dedicated to the Temple of Peace by Vespasian.

Another forum, dedicated 97 A. D., was begun by Domitian and completed by Nerva, by whose name it is generally known, although, on account of its temple having been dedicated to Minerva, it is also called the *Forum Palladium*, while a third name was given it, *Forum Transitorium*, by reason of its being an important thoroughfare between the Forum Romanum and the quarter of the Subura. So slight is the remnant of the Temple of Minerva remaining that it may be said to be entirely destroyed, which statement properly arouses a righteous indignation against Pope Paul V., who, in 1606, simply demolished it for the sake of its beautiful columns and other marbles, which he used in the construction

of the chapel of S. Paul in the basilica of S. Maria Maggiore; for which reason the "sumptuous Cappella Paolina, belonging to the Borghese family," as the guide-books say, fails to be admired by those who reverence the glorious works of antiquity.

In this Forum of Nerva there was a gallery of colossal bronze statues of such emperors as had received the title of *Divus* — divine — after death, which were set up by Alexander Severus about 230 A. D. Beside the statue of each emperor was a bronze column bearing the record of his warlike deeds. The only one of these statues still existing is that of Pyrrhus, in the Capitoline Museum, which was unpardonably disfigured by so-called restorations, early in the eighteenth century.

The Forum of Trajan is recognised as having been the costliest and most beautiful monument of ancient Rome, — a wonder of engineering, as well as of architecture, in the construction of which the most tremendous obstacles were overcome in a masterly manner. In Trajan's time the Capitoline Hill did not stand as now, an isolated hill, but was joined by a high, steep ridge to the Quirinal, which sloped to the forum on the south and to the Campus Martius on the north; and as Rome had grown and its traffic had increased, this ridge was a barrier between the two important parts of the city.

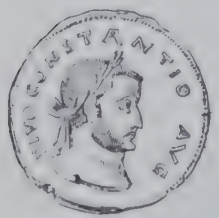
To surmount it and descend its steep sides with all the merchandise that must be transported from one quarter to the other, or to pass around the Capitoline Hill, which vastly increased the distance, were equally objectionable; and even so the passage between the Capitoline Hill and the Tiber was far too narrow to make a practical route of communication between two enormous cities, as the two portions of Rome thus divided had each come to be.

Trajan conceived the plan of cutting away this ridge; and the solving of the difficulties of which we have spoken was

not his only object, a second and important one being to gain space with which to enlarge the fora already existing. The passage which he caused to be cut through the ridge was nearly six hundred feet wide and was completed in about fifteen years. To accomplish this, an enormous expense was necessary for the purchase of private property. It has been estimated that two hundred and seventy-five thousand feet were taken at a probable cost of more than twelve million dollars. So great was the achievement considered, and so much was it honoured, that at public cost the column of Trajan was erected, as the inscription declares, "to show to posterity how high rose the mountain levelled by the Emperor." This column is one hundred and forty feet high from the pavement of the Forum to the top of the bronze statue.

Authorities vary in their acceptance of the plainest deductions from this inscription.

Commendatore Lanciani apparently accepts it literally, and makes a difficult calculation of the exact amount of earth and rock removed, and calls it twenty-four million cubic feet. Middleton says, "the inscription on the pedestal of Trajan's Column cannot be understood literally," and Brocchi claims that geological evidence absolutely forbids the assumption that the ridge ever reached one hundred feet in height.



DIVO CONSTANTIO AUG.

Trajan's Forum consisted of seven different parts: the triumphal arch of the Emperor, or the propylaia; the square, in the centre of which stood the equestrian statue of Trajan; the Basilica Ulpia; the Bibliotheca Ulpia; the two hemicycles; the Monumental Column; and the Temple of Trajan. Here was a world of architecture and art such as does not now exist, and one can hardly imagine the impression that it must have made. Fortunately we

have the description of the effect it had upon the Emperor Constantius when he first beheld its glories. Ammianus Marcellinus says: —

"Having now entered the Forum of Trajan, the most marvellous creation of human genius, he was struck with admiration, and looked around in amazement, without being able to utter a word, wondering at the gigantic structures, which no pen can describe, and which mankind can create and see only once in the course of centuries. Having consequently given up any hope of building himself anything which would approach, even at a respectful distance, the work of Trajan, he turned his attention to the equestrian statue placed in the centre of the forum, and said to his attendants he would have one like it in Constantinople."

A young Persian prince who was in his company replied to Constantius, "If your Majesty wishes to have and to keep a horse like this, you must first provide him with a stable equal to that of Trajan."

The celebrated Greek, Apollodorus of Damascus, was the architect of Trajan's Forum, and of many other grand improvements made by this Emperor both in Rome and its provinces, of which unfortunately too little remains to enable us to give any intelligent account of them. The great half-circles introduced in the porticoes must have been very splendid in effect. That on the side of the Quirinal was set in where the cliff had been cut away and so arranged that it could be entered from the top of the hill. It was several stories high, and filled with shops and offices, as was the hemicycle on the opposite side. These rooms on the Quirinal side can be visited and are very interesting; while the paving of the road before them is, with the exception of a bit on the Via Sacra, the best remaining example of a Roman road which has not been relaid. The projections from the porticoes were surmounted with statues of horses and trophies of arms, all gilt, as were the tiles which covered the roofs of the forum, and must have been dazzling in the sunlight.

The basilica was of white Pentelic and Luna marbles, ornamented, as was all the forum, with columns of the rarest Phrygian *pavonazetto*, Numidian *giallo*, and Egyptian granites, both red and gray.

When excavations have been made for other purposes, occasional fragments of the Temple of Trajan have been found; but little exists of these edifices that affords satisfaction, — in fact, a portion of the pavement is all that can be said to be genuine and in its original place; a few shattered statues, and some fine Corinthian capitals lying in the excavated area, serve to emphasise its desolation.

From the ninth century to the time of the Renaissance, Trajan's Forum seemed like an inexhaustible quarry for the marbles needed for the innumerable churches and palaces; and the saddest feature of the accounts we have of the destruction of those splendid edifices is the fact that the marbles were not all used in the absolute construction of the more modern monuments, but tons upon tons were burned into lime and broken into concrete!

Commendatore Lanciani gives an excellent idea of the importance of Trajan's Forum, in the following sentences:

> "It is enough to say that by the addition of Trajan's Forum to the five which already existed, the whole space put at the disposal of the people of Rome for meeting in public, for promenading, for the transaction of business or the administration of justice, and so forth, was brought to the grand total of twenty-five and one half acres. This space contained thirteen temples, three basilicas or court-houses, eight triumphal arches, the house of parliament, thousands of life-size statues in bronze or marble, porticoes more than one mile long, supported by about twelve hundred columns, public libraries and archives, and the finest and richest shops of the metropolis."

One may well believe Cassiodorius when he says that it was a spectacle so prodigious that familiarity with it could not render it commonplace, but that no matter how fre-

quently it was seen, it never ceased to make the impression of being superhuman and miraculous.

In addition to the fora of which we have spoken, there was a succession of smaller mercantile fora, such as those of the bakers and of other trades.

Of the *campi* of Rome the most ancient and important was the Campus Martius; it was a great plain or marsh outside the Servian wall; and, being occasionally flooded, it remained unoccupied until the excellent system of drains changed the marshes to solid and healthful land, when this great area became available for building purposes. From the earliest days of which we have even traditions, the Campus Martius was used for public assemblies, for military reviews, and for sacred games and festivals, some of which were said to have been instituted by Romulus, in honour of the god of war, to whom he dedicated the entire campus. Here, too, were altars to Mars, Dis, and Proserpina. There was, on the Cælian Hill, another field sacred to Mars, called the Campus Martialis, used for games and other public purposes when the Campus Martius was flooded.

The Tarquins are said to have treated the arable portions of the Campus Martius as though it were their private property; and Pliny relates that a plot of this land belonged to a Vestal Virgin, who gave it to the Roman people, who erected a statue in her honour. But essentially this great tract was public property, and under the Republic was considered such, and used for open-air meetings and for military and athletic exercises. Its whole extent was about a mile long by three quarters of a mile wide, and under the Empire it was connected with the other side of the Tiber by several bridges. Its different portions were also then known by different names: the southern portion was called Campus Flaminius, after the circus of that name; the northern part was the Campus Martius proper; and the eastern side took

its name from the Via Lata, — which was on its border, — the continuation of which is the modern Corso.

Under the Empire the greatest possible changes were made in the Campus Martius; it was covered with temples, theatres, circuses, porticoes, and baths, — an uninterrupted succession of stately, sumptuous edifices. Pliny and Strabo describe it as being the most splendid portion of Imperial Rome, which is easily believed, since, being unencumbered by older edifices, it could be laid out with new streets and squares, at the time when the art of building was carried to its greatest perfection under Augustus and his successors.

Pliny's list of the buildings in the Campus Martius, and the works of art contained in them, would fill fully three of my pages.

The splendid Theatre of Balbus was here built, it is said, at the instigation of Augustus, who was anxious above all else to increase the architectural splendour of his capital, and by his influence dissipated the few remaining prejudices of the Romans in favour of simplicity and plainness even in their private dwellings.

Other theatres in the Campus Martius were those of Marcellus and Pompey, as rebuilt by Julius Cæsar, the latter gorgeous with its halls for business and relaxation, and its gardens and porticoes. The theatre of Marcellus, begun by Julius Cæsar, was not completed until 13 B. C., when it was opened by Augustus, who dedicated it in the name of his nephew, the son of Octavia.

Pompey's Theatre was spoken of by Vitruvius as "the Stone theatre," it being the first one built of that material. Nero, in his wild extravagance, gilded this theatre, which, like so many other Roman edifices, was several times burned; Augustus restored it at great cost, and in his assumed modesty did not change its name, as Caligula did later, putting his own in place of Pompey's, which was restored by Claudius. Under the Empire this theatre was a gorgeous centre sur-

FINE ROMAN BAS-RELIEF.

rounded by the splendid constructions of the Campus Martius. Its portico at the back of the stage was a magnificent building, with several rows of columns surrounding a court, planted with avenues of trees, and adorned with fountains and statues in gilt and bronze; it was also known as "the Hall of a hundred columns." Adjoining this portico was the Curia of Pompey, in which the Senate held meetings. It was here at the foot of the colossal statue of Pompey, which stood in the centre of the Curia, that Julius Cæsar was murdered. In the midst of the outbreak consequent on his death, the Curia was burned, and its site was afterwards, by the Senate's decree, an accursed place, — *locus sceleratus*. Pompey's statue was not destroyed, and was placed upon the height of a marble arch near the portico, by Augustus.

The house in which Pompey lived was close by the cluster of splendid edifices which bore his name, and was most unpretentious.

The area on which the theatre and its portico stood was ornamented with many works of art, both paintings and sculptures, the fame of which, as well as the names of the artists who produced them, are familiar to us to-day.

Pliny mentions a splendid bronze statue by Myron, which was in Pompey's house.

During the excavations in the vicinity of the theatre many important statues have been found; among them the magnificent torso of Hercules, by Apollonius of Athens, now in the Vatican, which was discovered in 1506, in the time of Pope Julius II. In 1864 a gilt bronze statue of Hercules, fifteen feet high, was found in a small chamber under the theatre, and had apparently been carefully hidden away. It is now in the round hall of the Vatican, having been placed there by Pius IX., who bought it for £2000. It is not a work of the best epoch of art, and probably is not more than seventeen centuries old.

Like all the fine edifices of Rome, Pompey's structures furnished a vast amount of material to the architects of the Renaissance; and Bramante, when erecting the splendid Palazzo della Cancellaria at the close of the fifteenth century, used columns originally taken from Pompey's Theatre, which had meantime been used in the old basilica of Lorenzo. Bramante rebuilt this basilica as a portion of the palace of Cardinal Riario, and used the monoliths of red and gray Egyptian granite in the court-yard of the palace, where they have been permitted to remain, after having journeyed from Egypt to Rome, serving first in Pompey's Theatre, where hundreds of men and animals were slaughtered in a day; next in the Christian basilica; and lastly in one of the noblest palaces of Rome, which has been the scene of some exciting occurrences in modern days. In this palace a mob burst into the Parliament of Pius IX., demanding war with Austria; and here Count Rossi was murdered.

Scattered over the different quarters of Rome were small campi, or fields used for games and exercises, which, though important in their day, are not now known by any special names.

Among the most interesting of the many invaluable discoveries of later years, made by the Archæological Commission, those concerning gardens and pleasure-grounds are of great interest; and when the whole size of the city of Rome, and the number of its population are taken into account, it is difficult to understand how so much space could have been devoted to this delightful purpose. That the city was surrounded, and the ranges of hills east and west covered by them, is not so surprising as that they were here and there all over Rome.

I have mentioned the fact that the present fashionable promenade of the Pincian Hill made a portion of the gardens of the Christian Glabrii. The garden of the Anicii was on the spot now occupied by the French Academy of Fine Arts,

or the Villa Medici; and the garden of Lucullus was also on the Pincian, to the southwest.

But the most celebrated Roman gardens were those of Sallust, extending from the present Piazza Barberini to the

THE INFANT HERCULES STRANGLING SERPENTS.

Porta Salaria and Porta Pia; while in one continuous line of beauty, more than two miles long, were many gardens, large and small, of greater and less historical fame; among them being the familiar names of the gardens of Mæcenas, of Gallienus, of Epaphroditus, and others.

It is now known that large tracts of ground which in the most ancient days were used as cemeteries were converted, under the Empire, into gardens and parks. Probably Mæcenas, the minister and friend of Augustus, was the first to make this enormous improvement. The views from his splendid mansion on the heights of the Esquiline embraced a prospect so varied and extensive as to delight all who beheld it, except for the fact of one terrible blot in the hideous Campus Esquilinus, where the half-burnt bodies of slaves were cast out, so thinly covered with earth as to have no protection from the vultures which thronged there. In reading Horace one might well imagine that here not only dogs and wolves also sought their prey, but that human beings, in the form of the sorceress, here obtained the ashes of dead men's bones to add to the power of her philters.

The disgust occasioned by this sight, serious enough though it was, should have less consideration than the pestilential effect upon the living of such a charnel field; and when Mæcenas obtained the grant of it, and, covering it with pure earth thirty feet deep, converted it into a garden, known as the *Horti Mæcenatiani*, he richly merited the gratitude of all Rome, from the Emperor to the humblest slave; and so beneficial to the health of the city did it at once prove that Horace made mention of it in his verse.

The excavations of the Archæological Commission, in the so-called new quarters, have revealed the fact that the same course was pursued with other cemeteries, and even with the burial-places of private families. The remains of the republican cemetery, buried in the second century of our era, were brought to light, and as the religious respect for burial-places was then a controlling principle, this cemetery was buried undisturbed, and after all these centuries was found to be intact, and rich in its contents.

Commendatore Lanciani says that in a space fifty by

thirty feet in size, in the course of a few days more than three months, five Columbaria were discovered, in which were two hundred and four inscriptions; two hundred lamps; forty terra-cotta and two marble cinerary urns; one hundred and ninety-five coins; one hundred and fifty glass perfume flasks; two hundred bottles of terra-cotta, and a number of gold finger and ear rings.

But a very few years since, near the central railway station, when laying foundations, a stone was disclosed containing this inscription: "These stones mark the boundary line of the gardens of Lollia, which gardens are now the property of the Emperor Claudius." As the existence of such gardens was before unknown, and as many works of art discovered in them indicated the beauty the place must have possessed, there was naturally much curiosity as to the origin of the garden, and the question, "Who was Lollia?" was constantly propounded with great interest.

There can be little doubt that she was Lollia Paulina, the story of whose wealth, beauty, and misfortunes is well known. Her grandfather was a teacher of Caligula, and went to the East with the young Emperor; and when Caligula accused him of committing extortions upon the people of Asia Minor, Lollius poisoned himself. His vast wealth was inherited by his granddaughter, Lollia Paulina.

Although she was the wife of Memmius Regulus, Caligula fell so in love with her that he insisted upon making her his empress, in spite of the protests of her husband. He soon tired of her, however, and banished her from the palace, but commanded that henceforth she should live with no man, not even with her true husband. Eleven years later, when Messalina died, the Emperor Claudius was seeking another wife and seriously considered retaking Lollia; but her rival, Agrippina, through her intrigues and those of her friends, was raised to the imperial throne, and at once took care to have Lollia banished and her estates confiscated; thus the

gardens became the property of Claudius. It was of Lollia that the elder Pliny wrote: —

"I have seen the lady at evening parties, with her hair dressed in emeralds and pearls; in fact, she wore emeralds and pearls as earrings, necklaces, breast-plate, bracelets, and also as simple (?) trimming of her robe, to such excess that the value of the whole set was estimated at forty million sesterces."

This sum would equal one million six hundred thousand dollars.

On the hills to the west of the city there was also a chain of gardens from Monte Mario to the Janiculum, on the south of which were the gardens of Julius Cæsar. Augustus, Pompey the Great, and several other emperors laid out most beautiful gardens along the banks of the Tiber; and with all the cultivation of the city and the exquisite wild flowers of the Campagna, there was much of nature in contrast with the marble and bronze forests of old Rome.

Perhaps nothing was so ornamental to Rome as its porticoes, and nothing more apparently emphasised the difference in the point of view between the Republic and the Empire. During the Republic porticoes existed, but in small numbers, and were always erected for a special use, such as one for the sale of fresh vegetables, another for a corn exchange, and that next Pompey's Theatre, which was utilised for the rehearsal of choruses. But Augustus made them so luxurious and so popular that they came to be regarded as almost a necessity.

The porticoes of Rome were buildings supported by rows of columns, and were quite different from such constructions as are known by the same name in English. I have mentioned that the sacrifices of the pagans were largely offered in the open air, the altar standing before the temple, or in other cases in the portico in front of the principal entrance to the temple. Doubtless it was on account of this custom, and to accommodate the worshippers, that porticoes were

first built around temple enclosures, which resembled the cloisters of later date, and were the precursors of the splendid structures of the Augustan period. The younger Pliny distinctly states that the temple was for the god and the porticoes for the worshippers.

An ancient portico, built by Cn. Octavius, 168 B. C., was called the *Porticus Octavia* or *Octavii*. It was situated near the Theatre of Pompey and was rebuilt by Augustus. It is described as a splendid building with doors and thresholds of beautiful Greek bronze, and bronze capitals to its Corinthian columns, on account of which it was also called *Porticus Corinthia*. No remains of it have been discovered, and it is necessary to distinguish between this portico and the famous *Porticus Octaviæ*, which name included a splendid group of edifices.

The temples dedicated to *Jupiter Stator* and to *Juno Regina* were founded in the second century B. C., and were dedicated on the same day, 179 B. C. Pliny tells a curious tale of these temples, saying that by mistake the statues of the god and goddess were each placed in the wrong temple, so that the symbols, pictures, etc., suitable to Juno were in the Temple of Jupiter, and those of the god in the cella prepared for the goddess; but the superstition of the time, which permitted nothing to happen by accident, gave a meaning to this mistake, and it was believed to have been the result of the preferences of the deities, and was not rectified. The same historian relates that when Augustus rebuilt these temples, his architects were Greeks, whose names, *Saurus* and *Batrachos*, mean "lizard" and "frog." As they were not permitted to inscribe their names on the temples, they introduced these little creatures into the carvings on the columns to serve as their signatures.

There is an extremely well executed Ionic column in the nave of S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura, which has these reptiles in the eyes of the volutes; it is not improbable that this is a

column from one of the temples built by the Greeks for the above-mentioned deities.

The famous Porticus Octaviæ surrounded the enclosure which contained these temples, and resembled a small town, with the temples, schools, libraries, etc., which adjoined the portico, all of which are known as the Opera Octaviæ. This was situated in the midst of what later became the Ghetto, or Jewish quarter of modern Rome; it was levelled to the ground in 1887, at which time the remains of the Opera Octaviæ were exposed to view.

This group of handsome buildings consisted of a Curia, or Senate-hall, two libraries, and a Schola. These, as well as the portico, were adorned with magnificent works of art, which, added to the fine and dignified architecture of the edifices, produced an effect which impressed all beholders with wonder and pleasure. In the temples there were many statues of gods and goddesses by famous Greek sculptors, Cephisodotus, Dædalus, Heliodorus, and the celebrated Praxiteles being of the number; in the Schola was the Thespian Cupid, by Praxiteles, which both Pliny and Cicero praised. A statue of Aphrodite by Phidias was also in the portico, and these are but the slightest indication of the wealth of statues gathered in the Opera Octaviæ. There were also many beautiful pictures, which not only delighted those who examined them, by their perfect presentation of heroic and poetic subjects, but the charming effect of colour which they imparted in the midst of the rich marbles and bronzes, many of which were gilded, gave to the whole scene a sumptuousness of effect not excelled in any age or country.

A part of the site of the Opera Octaviæ had been occupied by the Porticus Metelli, before which had been placed a remarkable collection of bronze equestrian statues, brought to Rome by Metellus, 146 B. C. These were set in the Portico of Augustus, and represented Alexander the Great and twenty-four of his friends; they commemorated the

death of many officers at the battle of Granicus, and were the work of the famous sculptor Lysippus. Pliny especially mentions that in this portico was a seated figure of Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, and it is probable that the cele-

ROPE-DANCER AS FAUN.

brated work of Pasiteles, an ivory statue of Jupiter, was in the same edifice; and an endless number of most artistic sculptures, paintings, and other beautiful and precious objects are mentioned by the various authors who have described the splendours of the Rome of Augustus.

According to Josephus, the Curia Octaviæ was used for the

meeting of the Senate on extraordinary occasions, as, for example, when it assembled to do honour to Vespasian and Titus after the taking of Jerusalem.

These splendid structures were burned in the reign of Vespasian, and were not restored until 203 A. D., in the time of Severus, as the existing inscription above the porch to the enclosed area of the portico declares. This porch, which is fairly well preserved, has been stripped of its facing marbles, but has some columns remaining; a part of the columns, however, were replaced by brick piers, – probably after an earthquake in 442 A. D. Others are built into houses and into the church of S. Angelo in Pescaria. The destruction of the Ghetto obliterated a district that was historically interesting and extremely picturesque, and has failed to disclose much of value, although, by reason of it, archæologists have been able to trace the size and plan of this famous group of edifices, the few remains of which are perhaps more picturesque in the photographs which are made from them than in the actual sight of the ruins.

In less than a quarter of a century after Augustus introduced the fashion of porticoes, the Campus Martius was so filled with them that the entire plain could be traversed from end to end by more than one route, the pedestrian being ever in the shelter of the colonnades, where he saw splendid collections of various kinds of artistic objects. Looking out from them, he beheld lovely gardens adorned with fountains and waterfalls, and lakes bordered with box, myrtle, and laurel; while the plane-trees, with their beautiful boles, towered aloft, and cast picturesque shadows, where their shade was most welcome. The north wind of the cooler season and the dog-day heat of summer were alike tempered beneath the porticoes, while a rain or shower was enjoyable within their shelter. The poet Martial frequently speaks of the colonnades, especially of that of Europa; his chief praises are devoted to the comfort of them, and to the pleasure of

being warm therein when elsewhere people were experiencing the bitterness of cutting winds. A promenade of nearly three miles could be made within the colonnades, and the various porticoes through which the pedestrian passed afforded a view of an extended avenue of lovely columns of rare marbles and breccias. The pavements were also of great beauty, in which jasper and rare porphyries were not unusual. Besides these, and the well-kept gardens on which they bordered, he would see in each colonnade some especially attractive feature. In that of Septa was a museum of Oriental curiosities, manufactures, and antiquities; in that of Vipsania Polla, a large collection of maps of the provinces of the Empire, well made and of great interest.

The example of Augustus was faithfully followed: Cornelius Balbus, Marcius Philippus, Vipsanius Agrippa, and others of his immediate friends and followers built porticoes; Agrippa more than one, in which the very height of richness and beauty were reached.

That with the maps, to which we have referred, was called Vipsania Polla, for his sister; the Septa was constructed especially for electoral meetings; and in addition to these he erected the Villa Publica, the Portico of Europa, and that of the Argonauts. The last commemorated his naval victories and received the above name from paintings which told the story of Jason and the Argonauts; it was also known as the Poseidonium, or Porticus Neptuni.

Later consuls and emperors, either not finding the full need of such edifices supplied, or desiring to emulate the examples of those who had preceded them, continued to build colonnades.

Constantine, Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius all indulged their taste and pride in this way. Severus Alexander began a portico which was to connect his baths with the Septa; it was to be one thousand feet long, one hundred feet broad, and supported by one thousand pillars. Gordia-

nus the younger began a splendid portico on the Pincian Hill, but died before it could be built, as did Gallienus, the prince of magnificent undertakings, before his plans for a portico nine thousand feet long could be executed; it was to extend from the heart of Rome to the Ponte Molle, or Milvian Bridge. But perhaps the most singular portico was that of Marcius Philippus, where ladies found a succession of wigs and models for hair-dressing, the most varied and remarkable that the Roman hair-dressers could devise. I have often wondered, when examining the heads of busts and statues of ancient Roman ladies, how such coiffures could ever have been invented; and from a wholly practical point of view it would seem that the portico of Philippus must have proved a boon not to be despised.

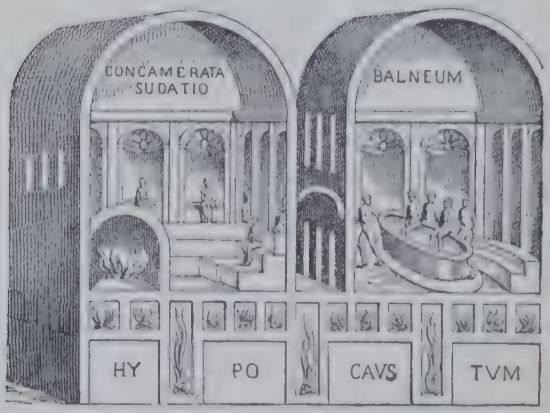
HEAD-DRESS OF JULIA, DAUGHTER OF TITUS.

By this and other porticoes, serving equally practical purposes, we are reminded of certain Italian galleries which exist at present, and have been rather unsuccessfully copied in other countries.

There was a portico by the Circus Maximus, which seems

to have been unusual. The extensive remains prove it to have been large and lofty, with an upper gallery extending over it. Middleton thinks it was what would now be called a saddling paddock, and perhaps a temporary stable for race-horses.

Thus the porticoes of Rome were a most important feature of the city, and in one way or another appealed to all classes, from the simplest citizens who in them purchased the daily



INTERIOR OF A BATH.

supplies of food, and exchanged views upon the most interesting topics of the day, up to the serious Senators, who there discussed measures of domestic and foreign policy, and the elegant, perfumed idlers, who spent their lives in search of a new sensation, or an excitement not yet exhausted. In short, the portico, for varied reasons, came to be a necessity to every Roman above the veriest slaves, to whom life had no meaning beyond the curse of continual toil and the hopeless craving for freedom.

Interesting and admirable as were the porticoes, even their magnificence and utility were eclipsed by the Baths, which,

having like the former existed in an unpretentious form from very ancient days, came under the Empire to be so vast and sumptuous that the descriptions given of them by the most conservative historians read like pages from marvellous fairy tales.

About two hundred years before the Christian era there existed in the Villa of Scipio Africanus at Liternum a bath which was considered of sufficient importance to be mentioned by more than one writer, and yet Seneca says that it was, after the ancient method, one small dark chamber.

About a century later, heating by hypocausts was invented, and from this time hot rooms were used for vapour or sweating baths; gradually the introduction of baths of heated water followed that of the hot cells and pipes of the hypocaust, or furnace; and at the beginning of our era there were both private and public baths of warm water and hot air, that without the size and magnificence of baths of later days were still commodious and acceptable.

The first public baths in Rome were those of Agrippa, opened in 21 B. C. They were of great extent, and splendidly decorated with numerous statues, of which Pliny wrote enthusiastically, one of which — the representation of an athlete, scraping the oil from his arm with a strigil, called the Apoxyomenos, by Lysippus — was such a favourite with the public that when Tiberius removed it to his palace, the general indignation forced him to return it to its original position before the Baths of Agrippa.

The excavations of 1881 revealed a large hall in which a considerable portion of the decorations remained. Among these was a frieze with reliefs of dolphins and tridents, a part of which has been restored to its ancient position. This hall was probably used for athletic exercises, or possibly made a part of the cold bath.

In the earliest days of public baths they were used by the poorer people only; but as early as the time of Julius Cæsar

the patricians frequented public baths, and at length even the emperors patronised them. Hadrian often bathed in public, and the exemplary Alexander Severus used the public baths and returned to his palace in his bathing costume.

Children paid no fee, and strangers were admitted to some baths without charge, by means of endowments for the

SCENE IN BATHS. WOMEN.

purpose; but with these exceptions the smallest coin, a quadrant, about half a cent, was the price of a public bath from the beginning of our era, and even this charge was remitted under the Empire, and all baths made free.

In the earlier ages of Roman history great delicacy was observed in the matter of the bath; but gradually, with other loose and indecent customs, that of promiscuous bathing

obtained, and was accompanied with so much that was not permissible that Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius made laws to regulate the practice, and Alexander Severus absolutely forbade the opening of mixed baths in Rome. After these were closed, on certain days of the week the baths were reserved for women only, as is the present custom in the East. Helagabalus, however, published a decree by which promiscuous bathing was permitted all over Rome at any time of day.

In the beginning public baths were opened at sunrise and closed at sunset; but the Baths of Alexander Severus were, according to Lampridius, open nearly all night, the Emperor furnishing the oil for lighting them. This custom occasioned so many disturbances that again the baths were closed at sunset, but in later times reference is made to a provision for lighting the baths at night.

When any misfortune happened to Rome, the baths were closed, and Caligula punished bathing on holy days as a capital offence. In the time of the Republic invalids only were permitted to bathe before the eighth hour, and Vitruvius recommended the afternoon as the best part of the day for a bath; these ideas served for the time when a bath was a matter of health or cleanliness, but under the Empire there seems no limit to the number; Commodus used as many as eight in a day, and even took his meals in a bath!

Gordian bathed twice a day in winter and seven times in summer, and Gallienus as frequently. The bath was customary after exercise and before eating; but gluttons bathed after eating, in order, it is said, to promote digestion and thus more quickly have a fresh appetite for new indulgences. Nero is said to have followed this custom. Pliny says that as luxury increased, the use of perfumes in baths was carried to such an extent that not only was the water scented and perfumes rubbed on the bathers, but even the walls of the building were rubbed with scented oil.

SCENE IN BATHS. MEN.

The Roman bath was made up of a succession of baths in which both vapour and water were used; and the rules by which these were administered were not in all cases the same, but were suited to the physical condition of the bather.

So with the anointing, which was more generally used after the bath, but with certain ailments preceded it; as in the case of Augustus, who suffered from nervous affections.

As a rule, however, the bather took some gentle exercise after the bath, and was then anointed in the sun or in a warm chamber, and afterwards went to the table.

At times even the very small fee of the quadrant was omitted through the favour of men who desired popularity; and we have an account from Dion Cassius of an occasion when Faustus, son of Sulla, furnished to the people for one day both baths and oil without price, and Augustus at one time furnished warm baths and barbers for a day; and again, for an entire year, he made baths free to both sexes.

Besides a multitude of slaves who attended the great baths, or thermæ, of the Empire, there were the doorkeeper, the keeper of the clothes, the anointer, the barber, a slave who extracted superfluous hairs, and the shampooer.

The remains of private houses which have been discovered on the Palatine have in them marble baths which must have been handsome and suited to the elegance of this patrician neighbourhood, while the intricacy and variety of their heating apparatus is such as to prove that the science of domestic comfort was carefully studied and essentially perfected in the time to which these houses belong, — probably that of Augustus.

We cannot easily conceive of going to a public bath for any purpose other than that suggested by the name, but the luxurious Romans went to the thermæ, or great baths of the Empire, for many reasons, the actual bath, being, perhaps, the least important of all. Within these magnificent structures were, besides all the great variety of baths that were

used by the Romans, provision for all sorts of amusements, as well as libraries and numerous most luxurious lounging-places, where voluptuous youths delighted to pass a goodly portion of the day, awaiting with impatience the sound of the bell announcing the opening of the baths, which could be heard at a great distance.

PERUSIAN MIRROR.

The Baths of Caracalla were enclosed by a colonnade nearly five thousand feet in length, within which were luxurious gardens and a stadium for gymnastic exercise. The thermæ, seven hundred and fifty feet long by five hundred wide, besides other baths, had a reservoir surrounded by sixteen hundred seats of sculptured marble; in this reservoir, according to Duruy, three thousand people could bathe at once.

There was also a theatre, halls for study or declamation, museums, libraries, and other porticoes than the one mentioned; and all these apartments — in truth, the entire group

of buildings — were decorated with the finest marbles, the richest mosaics, and choicest works of art. In these baths were found the group known as the Farnese Bull, the Hercules of Glycon, the colossal Flora, and the Venus Callipyge, all now in the museum of Naples; while portions of the fine mosaic pavements are in the Villa Borghese and the museum of the Lateran. Not only the pavements of these baths were fine, but the street leading to them also constructed by Caracalla could not be excelled in Rome.

Many gigantic baths, or *labra*, cut from a single stone, were taken from the Thermæ of Caracalla, and are now seen in various museums in Rome and elsewhere. Two of these, cut from Egyptian granite, are used as fountain-basins in the Piazza Farnese.

Vast numbers of slaves were employed in the service of the baths; and when a man entered there he was attended at every turn by these servants, who well knew how to please the luxury-loving Romans. At the very door stood a majestic-looking fellow, with a sword by his side, — the porter, who could give any information that was desired concerning those who had already entered the baths, etc. Near at hand was the wardrobe-keeper, who cared for the wraps left in his charge.

If the new-comer finds friends near the entrance, there is an exchange of kisses and greetings, of gossip and small talk. Passing on, he reads the *acta diurna*, orders the special sort of bath which he desires; and after that is enjoyed, he makes a promenade in the beautiful grounds, or perhaps joins in the exercises of the gymnasts before going to the table, where he finds every luxury that he can desire. He can be well entertained here throughout the day. He may read or write in cool, quiet apartments; he may converse with superior men and the noblest and loveliest women; he may gain information on literature, politics, and science; or, if he desires the society of the frivolous and pleasure-seeking men, so

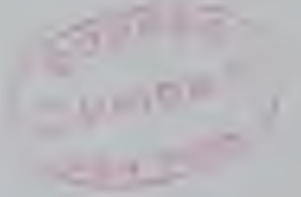
numerous in Rome, he will find them in these enormous baths where three or four thousand persons pass their entire time without there being any appearance of crowding.

There is a constant succession of amusements also; concerts, variety shows, and readings of the latest novels, dramas, and poems. The bath, too, is repeated with greater or less frequency, according to the habit of the individual, and one and all of these various occupations and pleasures are accomplished with no experience of confusion, haste, or wearisome delay.

No description of the customs of the Roman baths, however, that I have read, so picturesquely presents them in all their luxury, as does that which Bulwer puts into the mouth of the Greek, Glaucus, in "The Last Days of Pompeii":

"Imagine all Pompeii converted into baths, and you will then form a notion of the size of the imperial thermæ of Rome; but a notion of the size only. Imagine every entertainment for mind and body — enumerate all the gymnastic games our fathers invented — repeat all the books Italy and Greece have produced — suppose places for all these games, admirers for all these works — add to this baths of the vastest size, the most complicated construction — intersperse the whole with gardens, with theatres, with porticoes, with schools, — suppose, in one word, a city of the gods, composed but of palaces and public edifices, and you may form some faint idea of the glories of the great baths of Rome. There are many who live only at the baths. They repair there the first hour in which the doors are opened, and remain till that in which the doors are closed. They seem as if they knew nothing of the rest of Rome, as if they despised all other existence.

"Even those who bathe only thrice a day contrive to consume their lives in this occupation. They take their exercise in the tennis-court or the porticoes, to prepare them for the first bath: they lounge into the theatre, to refresh themselves after it. They take their prandium under the trees and think over their second bath; by the time it is prepared, the prandium is digested. From the second bath they stroll into one of the peristyles, to hear some new poet recite; or into the library, to sleep over an old one. Then



comes the supper, which they still consider but a part of the bath; and then a third time they bathe again, as the best place to converse with their friends. . . . The magnificent voluptuaries of the Roman baths are happy; they see nothing but gorgeousness and splendour; they visit not the squalid parts of the city; they know not that there is poverty in the world. All Nature smiles for them, and her only frown is the last one which sends them to bathe in Cocytus. Believe me, they are your only true philosophers."

By means of discoveries made in the Thermæ of Caracalla at various periods from 1824 to 1881, it has been learned that the service of the great establishment was carried on by means of crypto-porticoes with entrances to the main floor above, so arranged that the attendants could reach any part desired without crossing the apartments, or mixing with the crowds of noblemen. And, curiously enough, in 1881 was found a piece of marble on which was written a part of the programme for the service of the day on April 19, 226 A. D., as is believed, although the year is not absolutely certain. It is written with a black pencil, and is supposed to have been a portion of the lining of the wall of a room used as an office.

It contains a list of the names of the slaves, followed by numbers, which probably indicated the hours when each one was to be on duty.

The ruins of the Baths of Caracalla are so fine and so picturesque that they impress one even now with admiration and wonder. Shelley says of them in his preface to "Prometheus Unbound": —

"This poem was chiefly written upon the mountainous ruins of the Baths of Caracalla, among the flowery glades and thickets of odoriferous blossoming trees, which are extended in ever-winding labyrinths upon its immense platforms and dizzy arches suspended in the air. The bright blue sky of Rome, and the effect of the vigorous awakening of spring in that divinest climate, and the new life with which it drenches the spirits, even to intoxication, were the inspiration of this drama."

Grand though these baths were — and probably the most luxurious in Rome — they were by no means the largest, as those of Diocletian accommodated double their number. Cardinal Baronius states that forty thousand Christians were compelled to quarry stone and build these baths; and, as before mentioned, good authorities agree that some foundation exists for a belief in the frightful cruelties of Diocletian in connection with the erection of these vast structures. The spot on which they stood is now occupied in part by the church of S. Maria degli Angeli, built by Michael Angelo in the Tepidarium of the ancient baths, in which one sees the original columns of Egyptian granite, while from the roof still hang the rings that held the ancient lamps. Fragments of the ruins of the thermæ are scattered over the Piazza di Termini, and others are built into various useful structures, among which is the present railway station; while in one of the domed halls which stood at the angles of the outer circuit of these baths is the church of San Bernardo. A monastery was also built among the ruins, in some apartments of which the *Museo Nazionale Romano* is now established. One of the relics found here in 1548 was a large bronze bell, — an example of those that were rung each day to announce that the water was heated and the baths open.

Extensive remains of the Baths of Constantine existed in the sixteenth century, but have now disappeared, their site being occupied by the Quirinal, the Rospigliosi, and the Bentivoglio Palaces.

But the two colossal Horse-tamers are worthy reminders of what these baths must have been; they are among the very few statues of Ancient Rome that have never been thrown down and buried. These were probably made from Greek models in the early years of the Christian era; certain characteristics, such as the sharp-cut lips of the young heroes, and the treatment of the hair, are not suited to sculpture in marble, and indicate that they were originally intended for

bronze. Portrait statues of Constantine and Constans, now at the head of the Capitoline steps, and the colossal statue of Constantine in the Lateran Basilica, were also found in the Baths of this emperor.

There was at one period a custom of building baths in connection with churches, for the accommodation of pilgrims. The Liber Pontificalis records that Pope Symmachus, 498–514 A. D., made a bath in S. Pancrazio, when he built that basilica, and placed another in the apse of S. Paolo fuori le Mura. Indeed, the basins so frequently seen in the courts of churches were intended for the refreshing of the weary and travel-worn pilgrim before entering the sanctuary. On the walls of the bathing-rooms in churches there were inscriptions asking an observance of the rules of modesty. It is probable that the baths in churches were abandoned for want of a proper supply of water, rather than for any other reason.

In addition to all we have mentioned, there were the Baths of Nero and Severus, which occupied a part of the Piazza Navona, and the Baths of Titus on the Esquiline. To all these the Romans flocked, and, besides bathing, watched games, made their bets on the races and gladiatorial struggles about to take place, exercised in the gymnasium, or, if in a more quiet mood, listened to the recitations of poets and orators.

MEDUSA, OR ÆGIS.

CHAPTER IX.

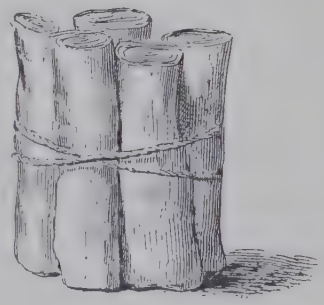
ROMAN LIBRARIES.

THE earliest library in Rome of which we have any considerable mention was that of Lucullus, whose house was a rendezvous for the literary and scholarly men of Rome, both native and foreign. So rich was it in all that men of culture and refinement enjoy that it has been likened to the Alexandrian Museum, and answered somewhat the same purpose in Rome that the world-famous museum fulfilled in Egypt.

The wealth of Lucullus enabled him to gather in his house the various treasures of foreign lands, and not a few of them came from Greece. His library was well selected and magnificently fitted up; and his genial hospitality put his guests quite at their ease, and made those who entered his library feel that they were welcome to use and enjoy all that their host so freely offered them.

His manuscripts were numerous, well selected, and of great value, not only in money, but for the purposes of scientific and literary pursuits. His library was always open, whether he was at home or not, so that those who had this liberty given them could always enjoy its quiet and pursue their researches and studies there; or, being sure of finding agreeable company, they could walk about its gardens and discuss the questions of the day. It was like a home of the Muses; and when Lucullus was himself present, there was always some question of interest upon which one could address himself to appreciative listeners, or could hear the opinions of the best

thinkers in Rome. The learned disputed over abstruse subjects; statesmen sought and received advice from Lucullus; authors came for encouragement; poets recited their lines; and, in short, the library of Lucullus was the centre of a delightful exchange of opinions and discussion of their merits. Its atmosphere was such as put every man at his best, and each one went away with the determination to return at his earliest opportunity.



BOOKS.

We know, however, that many small private libraries — or rooms in which were shelves for papyrus rolls, either closed or open — existed in Rome before there was any thought of such extensive and magnificent arrangements as were made by Lucullus, or in the famous libraries of the later Empire. These last were most luxurious and were adorned with pictures and statues, besides being well furnished with books. They became the most enjoyable retreats within the reach of such Romans as did not affect the exciting and disgusting spectacles of the circus and amphitheatre.

The books of the Romans were principally written on the fine bark of the Egyptian papyrus. After the papyrus had been pressed into the proper sheets, these were again pressed and sun-dried before being cut into strips of such width as were to be used in the roll for which they were prepared. These strips, after being written on one side only, were glued together at the ends, and rolled closely over a hollow reed.

The usual width of the papyrus strips did not exceed thirteen inches, and many were scarcely half as wide, so that,

if a broader sheet were required for any purpose, these strips were glued together lengthwise. It was customary to write the text in parallel columns and to divide these columns by coloured lines, usually scarlet. A rod ran through the hollow reed, and on this the book was turned when rolling or unrolling; the ends of this rod were tipped with a metal or ivory finish, or were simply painted or gilded.

To one of these ends, called *cornua*, a slip of parchment was attached, on which the name of the book was written in scarlet ink. The outer covering, in which the book was rolled when not in use, was of a gaily coloured parchment, purple and yellow being much in use. After a time this method was abandoned and the form known as the *codex*, made of parchment, came into use; the pages were more like modern books, and were fastened together at the back, which was a vast improvement; for although in exceptional cases a whole book was written on one roll, customarily several rolls or volumes were made, even of books not remarkably long; these were placed in circular boxes, made of light wood, which were much less convenient than flat volumes in the arrangement of library shelves.

By the knowledge of this division of books into small rolls we are able to account for some tales concerning ancient authors which would otherwise be too fabulous for belief. For example, it has been said that Kallimachos wrote eight hundred volumes; and to Didimos thirty-five hundred have been attributed; the truth is that these statements apply to chapters, or, in some cases, paragraphs only. In the early part of our century a papyrus, apparently complete, was found in the island of Philæ, which was eight feet long and ten inches wide, and contained six hundred and seventy-seven verses from a canto of the Iliad; the whole poem, divided in books of this size, would make forty-one volumes.

No doubt some of the ancient libraries were very large; but the computations of the size of the two libraries of

Alexandria vary from four hundred thousand volumes to nearly double that number, and it is difficult to arrive at facts where such discrepancies exist in what would seem to be reliable statements; but it is possible that some of these estimates are of separate works, while others are of separate volumes, which, with the arrangement spoken of above, would vastly increase the number.

Some pains was taken to have the apartment for the library open towards the east, because an exposure to the south or west was more likely to develop insects and mildew, to the injury of the books; and as the early morning hours were favoured for study and reading, this opening towards the rising sun was preferred.

One reason for the small size of the earliest private libraries was the custom of permitting no heat in them at any time, in order to avoid conflagrations, and because it was believed that artificial heat of any kind injured the books; under these conditions small rooms were more comfortable, especially in winter.

The size of private libraries was also dependent on the amount of money which the collector could devote to them. The books most prized were written in minute letters and bound in very small volumes; these were extremely costly; it is said that Aristotle paid more than three thousand dollars for a copy of Speusippos, and Plato gave more than six hundred dollars each for three volumes of Philolaos. The titlepage of these *éditions de luxe* usually contained the portrait of the author. The records we have of the size of private libraries varies from seven hundred to sixty-two thousand volumes, the latter number having been collected by a physician of the third century who gave them, in his will, to the crown.

Martial, Horace, and other writers make frequent reference to the book-shops of the Argiletum, which seems to have been the favourite resort of pickpockets, as well as book-

buyers. Here the chief booksellers had each the privilege of selling the works of some leading author; they hung advertisements in prominent positions, giving the prices of new books; and so great was the sale of rare books that forgeries were frequently put in circulation. Pliny the Younger says that the first edition of a book usually num-

READER.

bered a thousand, and appeared simultaneously at Athens, Alexandria, Rome, and Lyons.

Sulla, who became possessed of the library which had belonged to Aristotle, was most illiberal in refusing the use of it to scholars even; and when Cicero's librarian desired to compare some passages in Aristotle's writings, he could only accomplish it by bribing the librarian in charge of the collection, — a sad contrast to the generosity of Lucullus.

Cicero seems to have had a valuable friend in T. Pomponius Atticus, who sent two of his cleverest workmen, in answer to Cicero's request, to arrange his library and put it in order; this was so well done, and so much to the orator's satisfaction, that he wrote a letter of thanks to Atticus. The latter was a bookseller who collected his library as a money-making affair rather than from a love of books for their true value. Cicero wrote to another friend, sadly complaining that one of his most trusted servants had stolen certain of his books and was thought to have fled to Dalmatia.

A different sort of theft was that of the Egyptian Ptolemy, Euergetes II., who, wishing to improve the libraries of Alexandria, sent his agents to Athens to obtain the loan of the tragedies of Æschylos, Sophocles, and Euripides, promising that as soon as he could have transcriptions made from them the originals should be returned, and making a deposit of sixteen thousand five hundred dollars as a guarantee of his good faith. But, alas! as might have been foreseen, the king retained the originals and sent the copies to Athens without mention of the goodly sum he had deposited there.

Asinius Pollio, a brilliant author, whom even Horace greatly admired, is famous for having established in 37 B. C. the first public library in Rome. He is believed to have used the plunder which he gained in the Illyrian campaigns for this purpose. He had already abandoned the profession of a soldier and devoted himself to study and literature, both as a writer and a patron of authors. Pollio divided his library, which was situated on the Aventine, according to the ancient custom, devoting one portion of it to Greek, the other to Latin literature. The first library of this sort having been furnished the Romans by a private citizen, Augustus decided, four years later, to carry out the project which Julius Cæsar had cherished, and make public libraries a state institution. He accordingly set

aside large sums of money for this purpose and created the office of Director of such establishments.

The first of these state libraries was that of Octavia, so named in honour of the sister of Augustus, and included in the *Opera Octaviæ*, already described.

It was divided into two portions, as were other libraries of the period. The Palatine Library of Apollo was the second to be organised; the third was that of Tiberius, which was a collection of state papers rather than of books; another was established by Vespasian in the Forum of Peace; and the most splendid of all was that of Trajan, which he instituted in his own Forum, from which place Diocletian removed it to his baths on the Quirinal.

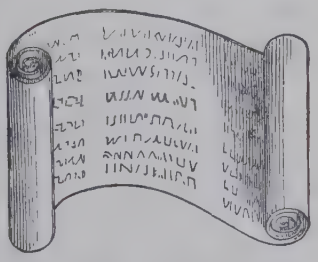
There is a story related by Aulus Gellius which indicates that it was permitted to take books away from the public libraries, which has frequently been questioned. Gellius relates that a company of gentlemen at a villa in Tivoli were discussing the wisdom of drinking ice-water. One of them quoted Aristotle's opinion of it, which opinion another of the company doubted, whereupon the first speaker hastened to the public library of Tivoli and returned with the volume in which Aristotle condemned the use of ice-cold drinks so strongly that those who heard his denunciation of the habit decided to give it up from that time.

Gellius mentions a public library that was situated in the *Forum Pacis*, which, from his account, seems to have been used essentially as a club, or meeting-place for discussion and criticism of general topics of the day, as well as of books and authors.

The fate of the public libraries — all burned as they were — would have argued to a pagan that the gods disapproved of these institutions, and, to us, when we read of this frightful destruction of books, made at such a cost of labour and eyesight as these were, their loss appears like the greatest of irreparable national calamities. But to one who

considers the crowding of Roman citizens in apartments of which it may be said that each chamber was a danger to a whole quarter, and reflects that the appliances for extinguishing a fire were insufficient, it is manifest that no more conflagrations occurred than might have been anticipated; and even the loss of the public libraries assumes less serious proportions when we remember that numerous private libraries, many of which were rich in their collections, still remained.

The destruction of the library on the Palatine did not occur until 363 A. D., and before that date Christian libraries had been established in many places and were guarded with great care; some of the books were even treasured in one of the alcoves of the *trichora* apse, such as was seen in many basilicas, especially in those outside the city. For a long time the use of the three alcoves was not understood; but recent discoveries show that the central one was devoted to the episcopal throne, or chair, that on the right to the holy objects consecrated to the church service, and the third to the sacred books. When, in times of persecution, it was feared that the books of the Christians would be seized and destroyed, they were carefully concealed in localities where the magistrates were not likely to discover them.



BOOK, VOLUMEN.

Naturally, the best libraries of the early centuries of our era were in Rome, where the Annals of the Persecutions, and the correspondence of the See of Rome with the Christians existing in other parts of the world were kept. As early as the papacy of Pope Damasus, 366–384 A. D., a Christian library was erected, modelled on the plan of the famous library of Pergamon.

Damasus was a man of great ability and determination. His election was valiantly contested by an opposing candidate; much blood was shed by the partisans of each claimant, and the church of S. Lorenzo, in which the struggle occurred, was besieged like a fortress. Damasus is also interesting as the patron of Saint Jerome, whom he had baptised. The Pope welcomed the young and gifted enthusiast when he arrived in Rome, not long after his warlike seizure of the papal throne, and soon relied on Jerome for aid and counsel in many directions; their close companionship thus inaugurated ended only with the life of the Pope.

At the time of Jerome's arrival there was great enthusiasm among the Christians in everything pertaining to their religion; and the hundreds of pagan temples, once the pride of Rome, were neglected and falling into ruin. It was Jerome who wrote, "For all its gilding the Capitol looks dingy; every temple in Rome is covered with soot and cobwebs, and the people pour past those half-ruined shrines to visit the tombs of the Apostles."

As one studies the Rome of this period, he is surprised to find with how many different localities and movements of interest Pope Damasus was connected; his eighteen years as the successor of Saint Peter must have been laborious years for him; but so inexhaustible was his energy that when not engaged in more arduous labours he occupied his time in writing a great number of metrical inscriptions, many of which are still in existence.

He was not only a man of vast enterprise, but he made his plans on a scale of magnificence that would not have been despised by the Romans of an earlier date. He built his library on the site of the stables of the Green Squadron of the charioteers of the circus. He first erected a basilica, or a hall in that style of architecture, which he dedicated to Saint Lawrence. This hall occupied the position in regard to his library that the Temple of Apollo had held in the group

of edifices on the Palatine, and was surrounded by a square portico, out of which opened apartments for the preservation of the books and archives. Above the chief entrance to the library a marble slab was seen, which had been skilfully and elegantly engraved by the *Calligraphus* of the Pope. The text of this inscription, now in the Vatican, in an old manuscript discovered at Heidelberg, is not all understood by present translators, but it concludes in this wise: —

"I have erected this structure for the archives of the Roman Church; I have surrounded it with porticoes on either side; and I have given to it my name, which I hope will be remembered for centuries." Around the hall was a second inscription saying, —

"With the help of Saint Lawrence the martyr, I have raised, Lord Christ, this hall in Thine honour."

The church now on the site of the library is called S. Lorenzo in Damaso, and thus for many generations the frankly expressed desire of the old Pope for earthly immortality has been realised. In documents of his own century and the next, his archives are frequently mentioned, and they remained in place until the seventh century, when all the existing documents of the church were gathered in the Lateran. No doubt the hall itself had been much changed, and probably not for the better, when in the fifteenth century it was replaced by a new church built by Cardinal Riario and still called by the united names of the old Pope and his patron saint.

We have no further record of any attempt at building public libraries until, in 535 A. D., Cassiodorius, Prefect of the Prætorium, conceived the idea of founding a school for the teaching of such things as the Church approves, and in connection with it a library. He persuaded Pope Agapetus to undertake this work, and for the purpose the Pope gave up his paternal home, which stood on the Cælian Hill.

Above the entrance to the principal hall of the library

was the following text: "Here you see assembled, together with Agapetus, the founder of the library, the venerable array of the Fathers of the Church, ready to explain to you the mystic words of the Scripture."

This inscription of course refers to the medallions of the Fathers of the Church, which were placed near the book-cases containing their works in the same manner as we have already described the medallion portraits of other authors in the library of the Palatine; such as were habitually used as the decorations of all libraries. The library established by Pope Agapetus was enlarged by Saint Gregory the Great, and in a certain sense has survived in the library of the convent of Saint Gregorio at Monte Celio.

MINERVA.

In 1883, a very interesting private house was discovered while the construction of the new Via dello Statuto was in progress. Some of the apartments were surprisingly well preserved. One of these was a domestic chapel which had been dedicated to the worship of Mithras. Here a statue of Fortune was found, together with seventeen statuettes. In a cell near the chapel were partly burned torches, such as were used in the worship of the Sun-god. This cell has been preserved as an addition to the interesting and curious sights of Rome, and its contents remain as they were found when the house was discovered.

At length the library of this ancient house was brought to light, and found to be a spacious hall in which the lower part of the walls, to the height which the bookcases would have covered, was without decoration; while above were the frames of the medallions, from which the portraits had fallen to the floor in such fragments as proved them to have made parts of the representation of human faces.

The entire arrangement was such as has frequently been described by ancient writers as that of the libraries of their time, which model the Christians followed in all the important, and in many minor, features.

The process by which the portraits of the authors were produced was varied, as well as the arrangement of them; but they almost invariably made a part of the decoration of the apartment. Sometimes they were in terra-cotta reliefs, again in mosaic, or in a species of pastel. In some cases the names of the persons represented appeared in the moulding around the medallions; again, there were epigrammatic sentences concerning the books and their authors, placed on the frieze of the cases; and, rarely, a concise biographical sketch of the author was seen near his portrait. Some of the richer libraries of the ancients were ornamented with statues and busts instead of medallions; such sculptures can scarcely be mistaken, as a list of the works of the author is inscribed on the base of the bust or statue.

The ancients did not arrange their books in the modern fashion, but laid them flat on the shelves, which is much less damaging, especially to heavy volumes. There are indications that catalogues were made of the contents of ancient libraries, but we have a limited knowledge of them. Perhaps the oldest example that can be mentioned with confidence is given by Eusebius, 266-340 A. D., in the life of Pamphilus.

Catalogues were sometimes inscribed on marble slabs, as was that of the books offered to the church of S. Clement at Rome. Professor Becker gives a list of one hundred and

thirty-six old catalogues, the earliest of which dates in 745 A. D. For the lover of such antiquities there is much of interest to be learned concerning them; but I find no record of any that, in comparison with many other discoveries, would be considered very ancient.

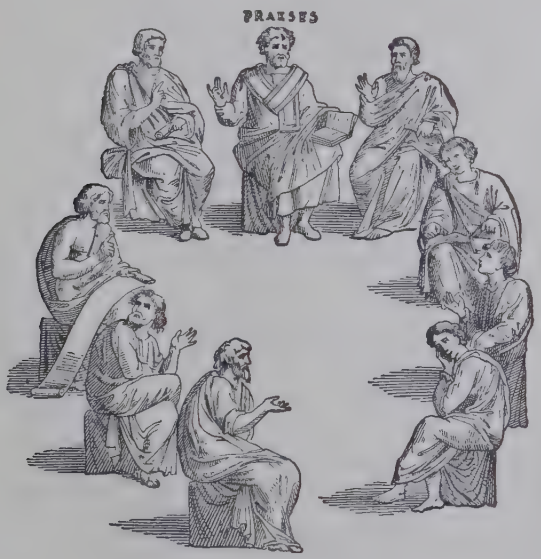
Cassiodorius, in 536 A. D., retired to Calabria, and there established a library, the regulations and organisation of which are known to us in every particular. His all-absorbing passion was for rare books and fine libraries, and we may well believe that he, when at the head of such an institution, conducted it according to the best methods then known. He had an enormous number of copyists and amanuenses, and through his efforts, in connection with those of his friend Eugippius, who dwelt near Naples, an enormous number of books were sent into different parts of Italy, and even to Africa.

Cassiodorius employed a corps of skilled bookbinders, and a collection of fine models were kept for their instruction. He also placed sun-dials and other time-indicators where they could be seen "by day or night, in clear or cloudy weather," and supplied lamps, which he describes as "mechanical lamps, which, even when left entirely to themselves, would continue to shine brilliantly for many hours." We may suppose that these arrangements were such as existed in the libraries of Rome at the same epoch, since Cassiodorius himself was, as we know, influential in the arrangement of one of them.

The full history of the early Roman libraries has not been written as yet, and whatever is known of them exists here and there in classic writings, inscriptions, etc. We have every reason to believe that special works describing the libraries of certain periods of the early centuries were written; but, if any still exist, they have not yet been brought to the knowledge of the world.

We have reliable accounts of the increasing demand on

Rome for books, especially in the seventh century, largely made by the missionaries and teachers of Christianity who had gone to many countries where they were founding schools and monasteries. Their needs were great, and their requests were liberally granted by the Holy See, and yet it



A COUNCIL.

was impossible to supply as many copies of the sacred books as were needed. The churches of Asia, Spain, and Gaul were sadly in need of books; while the enterprising and energetic apostles, who were labouring in the Christian work in northern Europe, were constantly begging for what must have been a veritable necessity.

At Oxford, in the Bodleian Library, there is a volume, an *evangeliarium*, sent by Gregory the Great to Saint Austin,

in the British Isles, in 601 A. D., while another from the same collection — for many were despatched from Rome at this time — is in the Cambridge library.

This codex is beautifully embellished with illustrations of the New Testament history, and there is reason to believe that the fresco paintings in the earliest religious edifices of northern Europe were suggested by these illustrations of books made in Rome, if they were not actually copied from them; at all events, Rome was the centre of bookmaking and of all that is comprehended in the term "Sacred Art."

The best judges pronounce these two works to be in the palæography of the sixth century; while a *psalterium*, in the library of the British Museum, which was long believed to have been one of the books sent to Saint Austin by Pope Gregory, is now considered as belonging to the eighth century, and to have been copied by an Anglo-Saxon amanuensis.

In 649 A. D., a messenger sent to Rome for books was told that the copies in the papal libraries were exhausted, but was given full permission to make duplicates. The missionaries in the north were so determined to supply their monasteries with books that they spared no labour and endured many hardships in order to obtain them. We can imagine what a journey between the British Isles and Rome must have been in the latter half of the seventh century, not only fatiguing and difficult, but even dangerous; and yet the Venerable Bede writes that the Abbot Biscopus, in the space of thirty-one years, made this wearisome pilgrimage five times for the sole purpose of increasing the library of his abbey.

The devoted abbot, when nearing death, could think of nothing else, and his last words were an earnest entreaty for the preservation and increase of the treasures he had collected, among which one of the most precious was a marvellously executed codex of geography which he had found in Rome. From some of his journeys Biscopus had returned

fully repaid for all his toil, having bought and received as gifts many volumes; again he was not so fortunate, but from his fourth pilgrimage, in 678 A. D., he returned content, having, as Bede says, an "innumerable quantity of books in literature."

It is always inspiring and exciting to hear the enthusiastic expressions of collectors over their treasures, and they are much to be envied for their absorbing love of special pursuits. It grows with its gratification, and even waxes strong on its disappointments; perhaps nothing more distinctly adds to one's personal happiness than the pursuit of a "fad," as these tastes are frequently designated by those who simply look on without sympathy for the object pursued. But what could be more charming in an old monk than the pursuit of books?

My heart warms toward good Biscopus, dead more than a thousand years, as I read his biography by the Venerable Bede, who also mentions that the old monk brought from his last two journeys many pictures or "images" of religious subjects. Among these was a set illustrating what is known as the *Bibliæ pauperum*, in which the similarity or harmony of the Old and New Testament is illustrated by comparing pictures from the two Scriptures, side by side; as, for example, the bearing of the faggots for his own sacrifice by Isaac, and the bearing of the Cross by Christ.

Fortunately the mantle of Biscopus fell on a worthy successor, one Ceolfrid, who was also an enthusiast in books, and a volume now in the Laurentian Library at Florence is one result of his pursuit of fine specimens. This is Saint Jerome's translation of the sacred text, and is one of three copies which Ceolfrid had made in England, from a "pandect" which had been obtained in Rome. The best of the three copies the abbot desired to present to the Pope, and, although he was old and somewhat feeble, he determined to be the bearer of his gift; he died on his journey, having

reached Lyons in the spring of 716 A. D. His attendants, however, carried out his wishes, and conveyed the precious volume to Pope Gregory II.

During the early centuries of our era, the industry in bookmaking was very great in Rome, and a library was almost indispensable in every house which made any claim to importance. In Roman country villas also, a collection of books was usually to be found, — some of them treating of agriculture and of local interests, with others that would now be termed "standard works;" while new and more recent productions were carried by the family when the annual country-going occurred, thus increasing from year to year the dumb, yet speaking friends of the household.

It is only in the time of the present Pope, Leo XIII., that the entire Vatican Library has been thrown open to all the world; and previous to that occurrence many scholars and antiquarians believed and hoped that a portion, at least, of the library established by Pope Damasus was preserved in the Vatican. But all these hopes have been disappointed, and it is not known that a single volume from the collection of this early Portuguese Pope is still in existence. It is perhaps more strange that the time and method of its destruction is unknown, as we have records of it down to 1227, the year in which Pope Honorius III. died, he having been the last Pope who mentions the library as still in existence and use.

In the eighth century the Lateran Palace became the official library of the Holy See; and during the tenth century the most valued archives were removed to a strong tower which had been built to receive them, called the *Turris Cartularia*, or Tower of the Archives.

Whether the Damasus library or any portion of it was thus transferred is not known, as the official, pontifical record of all important church documents has disappeared since the middle of the thirteenth century.

Many of the essays on ancient libraries, written from the

seventeenth to the present century, which were known from the beginning to be incomplete, are now — through recent excavations and the facts by them revealed — found to be incorrect as well; and no more interesting or valuable history could be given to the literary world than that of ancient and mediæval libraries, not only in Rome, but in all other places in which they existed.

There were in ancient Rome many buildings known as *Tabularia*, or depositories of records; in a sense, libraries of such materials as histories are made from. One of the extremely rare edifices of the republic is known as the *Tabularium*, the name having been taken from an inscription found in the building in the fifteenth century. From the name of the Consul in this inscription, Q. Lutatius Catulus, the date of the record can be fixed at 78 B. C., but, in fact, the history of this structure is unknown. At all events, this edifice is the largest and most extensive building of its time still remaining, and is in some regards the most interesting building in Rome of any date.

THE READER.

As the above-mentioned inscription calls it a tabularium, and the name has been adopted in general use, — and as its position on the slope of the Capitoline Hill, at the end of the Forum, which it faces, seems to have been a desirable position for a record library, and its internal arrangement would

not have been inconvenient for such a purpose, — one comes to think of it as having of old been filled with an enormous number of bronze and wooden tablets. On these were recorded treaties with foreign powers, declarations of war, decrees of the Senate, and thousands of interesting facts concerning not only the public, but in many cases recording private transactions as well. How precious the lapse of ages would have made such a collection had one but survived!

In the front towards the Forum was an open arcade, probably a thoroughfare, and entered from either end; a row of apartments opened into this arcade, and behind them was a large hall, which has been so much restored that it is difficult to say what it was like originally. This hall is at a higher level than the Forum front, and is reached by a long flight of stairs on the outside, very steep, and broken by no landing, beginning at the lowest point of the edifice toward the Forum.

Everything that could injure this building without and within has apparently been done: both the Temple of Concord and the Temple of Vespasian were built against the Forum front, almost hiding its open arcade; many arches which must have greatly added to its appearance have been filled up, while its interior has suffered from being used as a prison and a salt store.

In mediæval days, about 1300, it was converted into a fortress, much to its detriment; but, in spite of all, it bravely holds its own as a memorial of the Roman Republic.

In these days it is a museum. In the arcade are the magnificent remains of the entablatures of the two temples which were built against it, as well as other interesting bits of ancient sculpture. The fragments of these splendid entablatures were put together with infinite skill and patience by Canina.

That from the Temple of Concord equals, if it does not

excel, all other specimens of elaborate cornices of the Corinthian order known to exist. The acanthus leaves, and, in truth, all the details, are fresh and exquisitely executed down to the finest point.

Little less can be said of the specimen from the Temple of Vespasian, which dates from the time of Domitian, 81-96 A. D. Every art-lover must be grateful to the Italian architect who made it possible for these splendid examples of ancient sculpture to be thus examined. That from the last-named temple is emphatically a treasure. Few specimens of the great egg and dart moulding still existing can compare with it in execution. This portion of the ornamentation is undercut, in the manner of certain remarkable specimens of Chinese skill in undercutting ivory. The minor details, which are beautiful, since it is so placed that it can be examined, must have been entirely lost when it was in its original elevated position.

The ornaments on the frieze consist of sacrificial implements and ox-skulls, carved with great care, from an excellent design. The ewer has a very small representation of a battle between a rhinoceros and a bull as its decoration; the fluted *patera* once had a well-modelled head in the centre, which is now missing.

There is a variety of small objects in these sculptures all designed and executed with the same delicacy and finish that were bestowed on the most important portions. Among these are the holy-water sprinkler, the axe with which the victim was killed, the spoon for pouring out libations, the woollen cap of the flamen with its apex, and the wooden spike at the top, as well as others, which are all interesting because so carefully represented that we are sure that they are perfectly reproduced.

In the lower part of the Tabularium are cells which were probably originally intended for the preservation of treasure and public documents. In the Middle Ages they were used

as prisons. They now contain great numbers of *amphoræ*, or ancient wine-flasks. In 1878, there was discovered, on the Esquiline, an extraordinary quantity of these flasks which had been used for filling the ditch of the Servian agger.

LIBRARY OF THE LATER EMPIRE.

They were found five feet below the surface, and extended several feet below that, all reversed and placed in rows, one above the other. There was, in ancient days, a wine-shop near this spot, patronised by the Prætorian soldiers, from which this vast number of amphoræ doubtless came.

The stamps that are frequently seen on the handles of the wine-flasks are interesting. They resemble the stamps used

on ancient bricks. There are immense numbers of these stamped handles in the mass of broken pottery of which Monte Testaccio is formed.

Various facts are recorded in the brick, tile, and pottery stamps, such as the name of the owner of the brick-field from which the clay was taken, and that of the potter who did the work. The latter is frequently followed by the words, *Valeat qui fecit*, — "May the maker prosper."

The library of Octavia was burned in 80 A. D. That in the palace of Tiberius is believed to have perished in the same manner in 191, and that in the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus was destroyed by a thunder-bolt at about the same time. The famous library of Apollo escaped the flames until 363, when they were so fierce from the moment of their discovery that the Sibylline books alone could be saved, many hundreds of thousands of books and manuscripts being utterly destroyed. The fact that we know the fate of these Roman libraries, destroyed at such early periods, makes it all the more remarkable that we know absolutely nothing of that of the library of Pope Damasus.

"The only means we possess of following the life and vicissitudes of this invaluable collection of sacred and classic books," writes Commendatore Lanciani, "in an age the history of which is absolutely obscure and fragmentary, are the *regesta Pontificum*; that is to say, the collection of official documents, epistles, constitutions, and canons issued by each Pope. The *regesta* are known to have existed, as a complete series and without any interruption, from the remotest ages down to the middle of the thirteenth century. Honorius III., who died in 1227, is the very last Pope who saw the volumes, who studied them carefully, and who makes express mention of them. None of his successors, so far as we can discover, mentions the library and the archives as an existing institution.

"Not one of the volumes of the documents of the *regesta*, belonging to the incomparable collection formerly in the buildings of Damasus, then in the Lateran, and lastly in the Turris Cartularia, has escaped destruction, — not one has come down to us! . . . We

are forced to believe that the catastrophe by which the collection was destroyed, and by which the link connecting modern with ancient libraries was severed, must have taken place soon after the death of Honorius III.; but we are absolutely ignorant of the precise date, the nature, the details of the catastrophe. The only plausible explanation which we can offer is to be found in the history of the Turris Cartularia itself. This stronghold, built by the Frangipani family, as a detached work of their Palatine head-quarters, and used by the Popes as a safe receptacle for their state documents, was handed over to the imperial faction in 1244. Its contents were doubtless burnt, or otherwise destroyed, out of spite and revenge towards the Popes and their faithful supporters, the Frangipani family."

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